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PROCEEDINGS OF THE NINETEENTH SESSION AGRA

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PREFACE

It gives me great pleasure in placing the Proceedings of the Agra session of the Indian History Congress Association before you. Its printing has been possible due to the personal interest taken by Sri Mohan I al Bishnoi Proprietor of the Mohan Press. My thanks are due to him. I also recieved valuable assistance from Dr. B. P. Sinha and some other friends of mine, for which I take this opportunity to thank them. In a volume of this size and in the short time it has been printed, some mistakes must have crept in inspite of our best care. I crave indulgence of readers for these shortcomings.

Patna University
Patna–5

K. K. Datta
Secretary

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INDIAN HISTORY CONGRESS
AGRA
WELCOME ADDRESS

By

Lt. Col. K. P. Bhatnagar, Vice-Chancellor, Agra University

Sri Rajyapal, Delegates of the Indian History Congress, Ladies and Gentlemen,

On behalf of the Reception Committee of the 19th Session of the Indian History Congress I extend to you all a very cordial welcome to Agra, the city of the Taj.

It is a source of great gratification to us, and I am sure it will be to you all, that Sri Rajyapal, Dr. K. M. Munshi, has kindly agreed to inaugurate the 19th Session of the Indian History Congress. It is due to his interest in Indian History and in the Agra University that we are holding this Session of the Indian History Congress at Agra. The Session was originally scheduled to be held at Allahabad, but the venue was shifted to Agra on the initiative and suggestion of Sri Rajyapal. It is a matter of great satisfaction that the History Congress is meeting in Uttar Pradesh for the third time. It held its Second Session under the presidentship of the late Dr. D. R. Bhandarkar at Allahabad in 1938 and its Sixth Session at Aligarh in 1943 under the presidentship of the late Sri K.N. Dikshit, the then Director-General of Archaeology of the Government of India. We are greatful to the Executive Committee of the Indian History Congress for extending this favour to Uttar Pradesh for the third time. Agra certainly lacks some of the amenities of life which bigger towns of India may offer. But it does not lack warmth of feeling and a quiet atmosphere for your learned deliberations. I am also conscious of the fact that considerations of physical comforts alone have not drawn you to this historical city, as I do realise that at any other place your stay would have been much more comfortable.

The city of Agra enjoys an international reputation and attracts distinguished visitors from all over the world on account of its historical buildings particularly the Taj Mahal which is regarded as one of the architectural wonders of the World. The cultural and

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academic traditions of this region called, Braj-bhumi, are of no less significance. Within 35 miles of Agra are situated the sacred towns of Mathura, Vrindaban, Mahaban, Gokul, Nandgaon and Barsana, which were once the scenes of youthful activities of Lord Krishna who is looked upon by millions of Hindus as an incarnation of God. It was Lord Krishna, through whose lips flowed the song celestial, the Bhagwat-Gita, through which the spiritual wisdom of the East has been made available to the world. Agra is the nerve centre of Brajbhumi, the home of poets like Surdas and Faizi, musicians like Haridas and Tansen, and a host of Vaishnava saints whose names are legion and are writ large on the pages of history. The great social and religious reformer, Swami Dayanand Saraswati, received his education under his Guru Virjanand at Mathura and preached his first sermon at Agra with the mission of transforming the social and religious life of the people of India.

The origin of Agra is shrouded in mystery. Tradition says that there existed somewhere near the present Red Fort of Akbar a brick fort, called Badalgarh, in the 11th century. It as stormed by Masud Ghaznavi in 1180 A.D. Sikandar Lodi transferred his capital to Agra in 1504 and from that time Agra became one of the most prominent cities in the country. Babur, the founder of the Mughal dynasty in India also made Agra his capital. The city, however, reached the height of glory in the time of Akbar the Great and his two immediate successors, Jahangir and Shahjahan. In the reigns of these three Mughal Emperors Agra was the first city of the Mughal Empire. During this period some of the notable existing buildings, such as, the Red Fort consisting of the Diwan-i-Am, Diwan-i-Khas, Shahjahan's Residential Palaces, the Moti Masjid etc., the Mausoleum of Akbar at Sikandra, the Tomb of Itmad-ud-Daula, the Jami Masjid and the Taj Mahal, which are some of the finest buildings in the world, were erected in this city. At a distance of 24 miles from Agra is situated Fatehpur Sikri, once a wilderness inhabited by tigers, which was converted by Akbar the Great into a great and prosperous city full of magnificient edifices notable among which are Sahikh Salim Chisti's Mausoleum, the Buland Darwaza, the Diwan-i-Khas, Jodh Bai's Palace and Birbal's Palace. Both Agra and Fatehpur Sikri were

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centres of learning, art and culture throughout the Mughal period of our country's history.

The Agra University is the largest university in India. It has 79 colleges affiliated to it which are situated in Uttar Pradesh, Madhya Pradesh and a part of Rajasthan. Besides several Post-Graduate Arts Colleges, there are 4 Medical Colleges, 8 Agricultural Colleges, 2 Colleges of Veterinary Science and Animal Husbandry and 2 Colleges of Engineering, affiliated to the University. The University has two teaching institutions, the Hindi Institute and the Institute of Social Sciences.

The fact that this University is primarily an affiliating University has produced an erroneous impression in some circles that it has nothing to do with original research. It is hoped that a brief account of the research work done by the University during the last 20 years given in the Souvenir supplied to the delegates will dispel that erroneous impression and will show that the Agra University is not behind other Universities in the field of original research. No place in India is better suited to be a centre of historical research in Indian History. The cultural traditions of Brijbhumi go far into antiquity. The historical traditions of Agra of the Mughal times which happily continue to inspire the Indian people even to-day are of the very best that this vast land can boast of. It was here at Agra that a great emperor first beheld the vision of a united India and took concrete steps to bring about a fusion of the cultures of the two great communities inhabiting the country. Akbar successfully nationalised architecture, painting, music and some other arts by a harmonius blending of the ancient Hindu arts with those of Muslims from Central Asia and made them the common property of all Indians. His patronage of learning resulted in a great cultural understanding. When the history of modern Indian civilization comes to be written the pride of place will have to be assigned to Agra as the centre which conceieved and implemented the policy of cultural fusion in this country. The architectural monuments of Agra, and Fatehpur Sikri represent the joint achievements of Indians of all communities and are the embodiments of the best in our culture. Which other place can be a better centre of historical and cultural research than this city of the Taj ?

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We in Agra have made a modest beginning in the above direction. Half a dozen scholarly monographs have been published at Agra during the last five years and as many as two dozen research scholars have been trained in the art of historical research. It is my earnest desire to establish at Agra a School of Historical Research in the near future. I am confident that this dream of mine can be translated into reality with the generous support of Sri Rajyapal and the Governments of the State and the Centre.

Although a lay man, I am deeply interested in the history of our country both as a private individual and as the Vice-Chancellor of the biggest University in India. The Indian History Congress is the most authoritative body of Indian historians and its deliberations are bound to arouse interest in all those who want to know something of India's great past and in those who are keen to understand some of our national problems if the present epoch. The stream of history is one continuous whole and the present cannot be understood without a knowledge of the past. During the last 30 years Indian historians have made a commendable contribution to the unearthing of our ancient and medieval history's and historical research in this country has made great progress. I am conscious of the services tendered by European Orientalists in this field, but when I see the volume and quality of achievements of our research workers I confidently feel that Indian historiography has a bright future before it. It is not an easy task to collect contemporary raw materials in various languages some of which have become obsolete, to collate them in a proper manner, to shift evidence and separate wheat from the chaff, and then to present the conclusions in temperate balanced style. I am also conscious of other human imperfections, particularly, nationalistic, communal and religious bias. Nevertheless I feel from a perusal of some of the outstanding works produced in our generation that our scholars are gradually rising above these prejudices. I am sure this learned body of India's historians would not only give a lead but would also formulate scholarly opinion so that younger scholars may have a tradition to follow and should not fall a prey to temptations to which immature minds are usually subject.

I understand your scheme of a Comprehensive History of India

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in 12 volumes is being pursued. At any rate I trust it has not been given up. Of the three schemes of a New History of India, the one under the patronage of Sri Rajyapal Dr. K. M. Munshi, is bearing concrete fruit. Four scholarly volumes of the series planned under his guidance by the Vidya Bhawan of Bombay have already appeared. Your Organisation, that represents the flower of India's historical talent, has not kept pace with the progress and speed of the Vidya Bhawan's scheme. Let me hope that you will put forth your talents and enregy at this historic city and chalk out realistic programme for the implementation of your scheme of a Comprehensive History of India which was formulated even earlier than 1940.

Ladies and gentlemen. let me once again extend to you a most hearty welcome on behalf of the Agra University and the Reception Committee. Let me express a solemn wish that the deliberations of the 19th Session of the Indian History Congress may be crowned with success. I trust that despite the chilly weather of the season the learned delegates from all parts of this vast country will have at Agra a quiet and warm atmosphere and will generously overlook shortcomings, if any, in our arrangements.

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INAUGURAL ADDRESS

By

Dr. K. M. Munshi, B.A., LL. B, D. Litt., LL.D.

I am happy to participate in the Nineteenth Session of this Congress and to have the pleasure of meeting you all. I hasten to acknowledge my debt of gratitude to you, for several of you have opened up for me many new and fascinating worlds. And how could I have made the little trinkets—my historical romances—had it not been for the historical ore which you have dug out with such patience and industry ? In the course of this work, however, I have formed my own impressions of History and I hope you will permit me to share them with you.

II

I take this opportunity to pay my tribute to the sturdy generations of historians, to which most of you belong. During the last century they have met the challenge of the European historians and those who followed them, who—with many and very notable exceptions—tried to prove that India, 'never knew how to trade'; that her civilization was 'crude'; that her people 'ran into chaos unless a despot'—and preferably a foreign one—ruled over her'; that most things in her culture were borrowed from Greeks or other foreign sources; that the values inspiring her people were decadent, immoral or self-destructive.

In meeting this challenge, a band of European scholars, assisted by our historians, explored old records; threw light on old problems; filled blanks in our past and gave us back the greatness, the continuity and the mission which is India's. They not only strengthened the national consciousness, but invested it with pride, confidence and a triumphant outlook. In this way they gave our struggle for freedom both inspiration and vitality.

In rendering this great service, some of these historians, not unaturally, fell into the pitfalls which a defence lawyer cannot avoid. They tried to fit facts into the frame-work of their pleas. They justi-

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fied institutions and events by applying the touchstone of modern European standards. Some discovered even parliamentary government in ancient India. Others cast ancient heroism in the mould of modern motifs. Still others re-interpreted events, so that every virtue was ours, every drawback, that of England.

Some British historians have tried to prove that there was no such thing as India. Some of our historians have tried to establish that India in the past was the same as the India of our dreams. But with freedom come, we have to reorient this outlook. While our history has to discard the baissed judgment of a foreign ruling class, we have to eliminate the partisanattitude of aggressive nationalism.

III

History, like a mysterious goddess, has been all things to all men. As art, it has ranged from poetry and romance to sermons and propaganda in which prejudice masquerades as moral indignation. As theology, it has traced the hand of God in many events, which can as well be attributed to the 'other gentleman.'

In the past we had the classic example of History as Propaganda in the works of Tacitus, Gibbon and Macaulay; their effort, no doubt, was unconscious and the effect imperceptible. Similarly in the recent past, Vincent Smith tried to justify British Rule through history, and Jayaswal saw in the campaigns of the Nagas an ancient precedent for the modern national upheaval.

In recent years, however, history has been unabashed propaganda. Some historians, driven by a desire—no doubt laudable—to promote Hindu-Muslim unity, have been discovering rare catholicity in the Sultans of Delhi. Even the great Shankaracharya, who taught universal pantheism and revolutionised the religious and philosophical outlook as well as the intellectual structure of the country, was discovered by some to have been influenced by the monotheism of the *Qoran*. I should not be surprised if budding historians discover primitive Communism in the *Rigveda*, and in the struggle between Rana Pratap and Akbar, a conflict between feudalism and capitalism.

Let us, by all means, work for what we want; let us not, for God's sake, read all we wish to be in what really *was*. Let the true picture

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of the past stand before us, for then it would serve as a pointer or a danger signal on our journey to the future as we wish to make it.

IV

In the middle of the eighteenth century, history began to be looked upon as an exact science and ended by becoming the handmaid of economics. According to this school, the affairs of man were no longer guided by God, the ambition of kings or the caprices of ministers. They were no longer conditioned by ideas, institutions, group sentiments or by the leadership of great men. They were found to be principally conditioned by the economic organisation of society which, again, was based on the mechanism of production and exchange of goods.

The other day I was reading a book in which the sudden appearance of great men, during a period, who altered the course of history was attributed mainly to the economic forces which shaped their early life and their times. Following the line of the author, I began to wonder: Did Shankar revolutionise India because sufficient bananas were not left in the ancestral Nambudri Illam at Kaladi ? Did the heroines of Rajputana immolate themselves in *Jauhar* because they found that it was more paying to fling themselves into fire than to live in pomp and luxury as the mistresses of the Sultans of Delhi ?

Under this new dispensation, in which the economic forces become the principal, if not the sole, shaping factor in human affairs, man is shorn of his ethical and spiritual character. He just stands exposed as a germ, only more intelligent, and therefore, more dangerous than other germs. And the role of the great leaders of men and of noble ideas and aspirations is entirely lost sight of in assessing the trend of human evolution—in the end, to our unmaking.

V

In the 19th century a general air of the world in crisis prevailed in some countries in Europe. This tended to reduce history to a sort of astrology. Spengler, for instance, prophesied the doom of Western civilization. Karl Marx agreed with him not in a spirit of defeatism but with exultation. According to the latter the world

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was collapsing; a new world was awaiting a Messiah; and He was to come in the shape of the dictatorship of the proletariat.

Certain predictions of Marx, reduced to axioms were proclaimed and accepted as having the certitude of scientific truth. According to them, all the world over, feudalism is invariably replaced by capitalism. When it is so replaced the capitalists few in number would grow still fewer, while the proletariat would increase in number and become poorer. As a result, the proletariat would overthrow the few capitalists and establish a classless society.

In trying to affirm the immutability of this law, some Marxian historians have had to discover that Fascism, the unexpected phenomenon never thought of by Marx, was the 'last compulsion of capitalism'. And often enough, feudalism and capitalism had had to be re-defined to suit inconvenient developments. Those of us who are familiar with the self-assurance of well-known astrologers know how if one prediction fails, there is always another *griha-yoga* ready to explain what has happened.

As contrasted with these predictions, let us look at what has happened during the last century. In certain countries, capitalism has led to a significant rise in the level of income and the standard of living; the broad mass of workers there has accepted the new order in preference to Communisim. Some highly industrialised countries have avoided Communism, while some agrarian countries have fallen under its spell. The industrialization of Russia did not precede the Industrial Revolution, but followed it. Forty years of the so-called proletarian rule in Russia has shown that the proletariat is not undifferentiated; that when workers are in power, they are as keen on preserving differentials as the capitalists. Classless society has failed to materialise. No world revolution has been possible, nor a worker's paradise, as we see from the events happening before our very eyes.

Such history neither illumines the past, nor the future. That is why in countries where it is in vogue it has to be re-written time and again to eliminate inconvenient episodes and developments.

VI

History can have only one approach: the historical. Human

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life is a continuous process. Men and events as well as the integration and disintegration of human aggregates, therefore, can only be adequately viewed in the flowing stream of time.

Historians, no doubt, have to work under the limitations of time, space and human effort. But if the significance of one wave in the stream is not known or not viewed in the continuing chain which links it with the preceding and succeeding waves, the volume and direction of the stream cannot be accurately assessed. And if they are pre-conceived, historical interpretation becomes unreal.

The first step in this historical interpretation, therefore, is to recognise the importance of truth;that is, of searching and tabulating records with integrity and thoroughness; of weighing the testimony in a scrupulous balance; of presenting facts and all the facts in chronological sequence. Then only will it be possible to infer the significance of events, if at all.

But if the historian ignores this discipline of facts, or if he omits or discards the art of presenting facts in proper perspective or if he fails to trace the significance of events in strict sequence and in a dispassionate manner, he had better, like myself, content himself with writing historical romances.

There is, however, one danger. As more and more materials come to light, and more scientific knowledge is pressed into the service of History, the conclusions tend to be tentative. At the same time, if the historian hesitates to draw conclusions from the facts before him, he would become only a narrow specialist who knows more and more about less and less and says less and less about it. History then would lose all interest and all value.

Next to the discipline of facts is the difficult task of determining what the subject-matter of historical treatment is. If the subject-matter is taken to be a geographical unit, the result will be incoherent. If it is taken to be the life-time of a conqueror or a dynasty or even an empire, the outlook would be fragmentary.

The proper subject of history, as I conceive it, can only be a people possessing a continuous urge to life upto certain well-defined values, which leads them to collective action, and of which their apparent life is in a substantial measure an expression.

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If there is no such collective urge in a people, there cannot be common history. If there had been no continuity tied up with the sanctity of the *Vedas*; no *Manusmriti*, generally accepted as the law of the land; no institution of *Chaturvarnya* associated with the country, no group sentiments like those of being Brahmins or Kshatriyas cutting across the linguistic and tribal barries; no collective will to pattern its life according to common values and to resist alien influences,—there would have been no India and no history of India.

History, therefore, can only be the story of the integration or disintegration of a human aggregate. The aggregate may be a tribe, a city, a linguistic group, a nation or a group of nations driven to collective will; in each case the aggregate must enjoy a continuity of life through common memory. The bulk of its people must also recognise certain common values, in living up to which the best among them would find the fulfilment of its collective existence.

VII

If my view is correct, the history of India has to be rewritten, first from the Indian point of view. Secondly, not from any pre-conceived national bias, but with a view to discover what, in the course of centuries, we felt and suffered; how we reacted to new conditions; what were the central ideas and fundamental values which persisted through time; how we were influenced or overwhelmed by the impact of external forces or internal disruption and how we survived them to emerge as a vital and free nation.

In any history of India we have to resist the temptation of accepting, without the strictest scrutiny, the facts or their interpretation found in the records of the conqueror, or his chronicler. At the same time, as I said, we should not be carried away by a false sense of national glorification.

We have also to outgrow the tendency, too commonly found, to deal with the British conquest only as the evolution of an administrative set-up, or as a mere act of exploitation rather than as a process which led to the emergence of free India to-day.

In our new History we have to try to find an answer to several questions: how the Western impact, for instance, influenced Indian

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life; how the dicovery of Sanskrit Literature by Aquetil Dure-Perron, Sir William Jones and others led to a renaissance in India, at the same time influencing deeply the current of Western culture; how Western nationalism differs from the Indian variety, which has been the product of Western educated classes, scholars, lawyers, teachers, and journalists who, though filled with enthusiasm for a material civilization, scientific outlook and democratic ideals, remained profoundly attached to our ancient culture.

We might still take a broader view of the problems of modern history. How is the present world consciousness related to the 19th century impact of the West on India and some other nations of Asia? Has the growth of easy communications been rendering 'closed' cultures impossible in Asia? Was the nationalism as it evolved in the different Asian countries a positive, liberalising force or a negative xenophobia? Has India, in moving towards a common civilisation based on science, technology, and social democracy, retained the vitality of its heritage so as to be able to contribute a higher life of the Spirit to the future?

Modern history, however, has to be fitted in the context of certain vast movements of the past. The influence of India penetrated into many countries of Asia from Iran to China and Japan, into South-East Asia and Tibet. Islam continued to influence nearly the whole of Asia for several centuries. The early civilizations of Egypt, West Asia and India exerted mutual influence on one another. All these phenomena have to be studied by selected Indian students at well-equipped centres in India and abroad under a co-ordinated scheme.

An earnest endeavour has also to be made to develop a proper historical sense and historical consciousness among the people. We can no longer look forward to the influence of the European scholars, who inspired Indian students of history with a critical and scientific spirit and kept it at a high level by their example and inspiration. It is now for our Universities to ensure that this high standard is maintained. The need is great and immediate, for the standard is visibly going down.

What we need is an outstanding Journal of History edited by an indepenbent doarp of eminent historins and subsidised by Government.

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We also need periodical international conferences on History to be held in India. I hope this Congress would accept the move sponsored by some delegates to hold periodical seminars on Asian history. Such seminars should in course of time, broaden out into seminars on world history; for in the region of knowledge there are no frontiers either national, racial or continental.

But above all, what the country needs first is a dynamic effort to study, analyse and present the whole process of the growth and development of India in the context of the world changes; a study, not in isolated periods but in the stream of time; a study which never forgets the fundamental values to which we owe our continuous collective existence nor to take into account the new factors which have emerged at every stage of our life. This alone will enable us to walk the future with firm but wary steps.

With these words, I thank you for the honour that you have done me and I inaugurate this Conference. I wish you all success.

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PRESIDENTIAL ADDRESS

Dr. Narendra Nath Law

FELLOW-DELEGATES AND FRIENDS.

I am very happy to be in your midst to-day, and deem it a great honour and privilege to be called upon to preside over this session of the Indian History Congress. In the changed political status of the country, this Congress, as one of the most important forums for historical research, has assumed a more significant role than before, with a new zeal and formative urge.

Independence of India and new responsibilities of the historian: Research, —a national service.

The freedom of India has brought new opportunities, and also new responsibilities to our historians for carrying on investigations. A new challenge has come to the historians to give of their best, true to the highest ideals of getting at the truth in a scientific spirit. Such research is the highest national service that an historian can render. Considering the vastness of this country, and the centuries covered by its history and recorded historical tradition, the necessity of team-work among our historians cannot be over-emphasized. I am glad that such team-work has already borne tangible results under the auspices of the Bhāratīya Vidyā Bhavan of Bombay in the publication of four volumes of Indian History, of which we can justly be proud. The appearance of the six subsequent volumes is being awaited with eagerness, and will, I hope, be on a par with those already published.

2

THE FLOOD AS MARKING THE UPPERMOST TIME-LIMIT OF ROYAL GENEALOGIES IN ANCIENT INDIA

Jayaswal's view of the Flood.

At the 7th All-India Oriental Conference at Baroda in 1933, my esteemed friend K. P. Jayaswal stated in his learned Presidential Address that the Flood recorded in the *Śatapatha*

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Brāhmaṇa was "the greatest land-mark in the pre-dynastic history of India. The Flood has been proved to be a historical fact by Dr. Woolley's excavations. The area of the Flood was certainly the continuous land from Mesopotamia to Rajputana, and there is the common tradition at both ends of this area, embodied in the ancient literatures of the Semites and the Hindus. Our dynastic history in the Purāṇas almost begins from the Flood, and the Mohenjo Daro civilization is post-Flood event" (lxiv). "The Purāṇas are amongst the most ancient documents on race-history, and the tradition and data embodied therein go back to the Flood and even earlier" (ixiii).

These statements have a very important bearing on the royal genealogies, and dynastic histories of ancient India and researches relating thereto, and so, they require a close scrutiny. The ancient Flood-legends are numerous and are found recorded in many parts of the world. I have no space here to give summaries of even two or three of these accounts. I shall append here only the *Time-table* of the Biblical legend.

Ancient Flood legends are numerous.

Biblical Deluge and Noah.

The universal flood which happened at the time of Noah—2348 B.C.

Time-table of the Deluge.

"October	.. Noah and his family entered the Ark.
November	.. The fountains of the great deep broke open.
December 26	.. The rain began, continued 40 days and nights.
January, 2349 B.C.	The earth buried under the waters.
February	.. Rain continued.
March	.. The waters at their height till the 27th, when they began to abate.
April 17	.. The Ark rested on Mount Ararat in Armenia.
May	.. Waiting the retiring of the waters.
June 1	.. The tops of the mountains appeared.

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July 11	.. Noah let go a raven, which did not return
,, 18	.. He let go a dove, which returned.
,, 25	.. The dove, being sent a second time, brought back the olive-branch.
August 2	.. The dove, sent out a third time, returned no more.
September 1	.. The dry land appeared.
October 27	.. Noah went out of the Ark."[1]

Beeton in his *Illustrated Dictionary of Religion etc.* (p. 190) says (sv. "Deluge"):—"Some of the ablest scientific and theological students are now disposed to regard the Biblical deluge as partial and local. It is true the language of the narrative in Genesis seems to imply its universality; but similar expressions are used in Scripture in cases where the meaning is evidently limited. For instance, we read that '*all* countries came into Egypt to Joseph for to buy corn, because the famine was so sore in *all* lands.' In 1 Kings, Obadiah tells Elijah that' there is no nation or kingdom, whither my lord hath not sent to seek thee.' In the book of Daniel it is said that 'King Darius wrote unto *all* people, nations, and languages, that dwell in *all* the earth.' It is not to be supposed that these phrases are to be taken literally, and it is not quite unreasonable to suppose that the meaning of the word 'all' , in the account of the flood, may be subject to a similar limitation."

Scientists and the Universal Flood.

"*The belief in a universal deluge has long been abandoned by well-informed writers.*"[2] The grounds on which the geologists and other categories of scientists oppose the historicity of a universal deluge are:—

1. Ethnology—The presence of various races of mankind, independent of the Bible system, cannot be explained if there had been a universal deluge.
2. Geology—The agencies that have operated to build up the world are shrinkage, gradual sinkings and upheavals, deposits by action of animalcules, *but not universal deluge.*

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3. Zoology—This science proves clearly that there is no definite line of demarcation between the extinct species and those of the present day which would have existed if there had been a break in the continuity of the animal world.
4. Botany—The remarks made in connection with zoology apply to plant life and its history,—there are no indications of any break.

Baby-lonian Story of Deluge,

At present, many scholars are of opinion that the story of the Biblical flood is modelled on that of the Babylonian. C.L. Woolley says in his *Ur of the Chaldees* (p. 30)[3]—"Taking into consideration all the facts, there could be no doubt that the flood (of Ur), of which we had thus found the only possible evidence, was the Flood of Sumerian history and legend, the Flood on which is based the story of Noah."

In the Babylonian story, an ancestor of Gilgamesh, King of Uruk, was advised to build a ship of certain dimensions to protect himself, his family and friends, as also his belongings and the seed of life of every thing against the fury of a Flood. For six days and nights, the flood and tempest overwhelmed the land. On the seventh day, they subsided, the sea rested, the hurricane spent itself, and the flood was at an end. He looked upon the sea, and all men perished. On the twelfth day, the ship grounded on a mountain in Armenia. He waited there for another six days, and sent out birds one after another to ascertain that dry land had appeared. Later, when land appeared, he with others came out of the ship.[4]

While excavations were progressing on the 40 ft. high rubbish around Ur, Woolley came upon a layer of 8 ft. thick clean mud. Its texture convinced him that it had been carried there by a Flood, which marked a break in the continuity of the history of Ur. Inundations were of normal occurrence in Mesopotamia, but an ordinary rising of the rivers could not have left 8 ft. of sediment. The flood must have been of a "magnitude unparalleled in local history....A whole civilization, which existed before it, is lacking above the clay bank, and seems to have been submerged by the water,[5]"

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This flood was, according to Woolley, the flood of the Sumerian history and legend, on which the story of Noah was based. From a brick pavement 16ft. below, it could be inferred that the Flood came sometime later than 3200 B. C. "Two or three Sumerian cities are said to have existed equally before the Deluge and after it. We may assume (therefore) that the historical break was not final, and that so far from the disaster being universal, some at least of the local centres of civilization survived it".[6]

As the result of his excavations for seven years at Ur,and surrounding places, Woolley comes to the conclusion that the "Deluge was not universal but a local disaster confined to the lower valley of the Tigris and Euphrates, *affecting an area perhaps* 400 *miles long and* 100 *miles across*; but for the occupants of the valley, that was the whole world"![7]

Story of Flood in the *Śatapatha-Brāhmaṇa*.

In the *Śatapatha-Brāhmaṇa* (1.8.1), the story of Flood is thus related:—

When water was brought to Manu, son of Vivasvan (sun-god), for washing, a fish came into his hands, and said that he would protect Manu in the devastating flood that is expected to come in a future year, if Manu would save him now. As desired by the fish, Manu kept him first in a jar, then in a pit, and afterwards took him to the sea, according as he grew in statutre. According to the direction of the fish, Manu built a ship, and when the flood came, he entered into it. The fish swam near when Manu tied the ship by a rope to its horn. The ship was then drawn by the fish to the northern mountain, where it was fastened to a tree. As the flood gradually subsided, Manu descended down the mountain. The flood had swept away all the creatures leaving only Manu alive.

These details along with some additional features and variations are found in the *Mahābhārata* (Vana, 187, Burdwan edition) and in some of the Purāṇas.

It has already been pointed out that the historicity of a universal Flood has been ruled out by scientists of several categories on various grounds, which I need not repeat here.

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Manu, who survived the Flood mentioned already, is looked upon as a man—the progenitor of a race that ruled in India. He is also believed to be the divine personality, who has been presiding over the world during the Manvantara allotted to him i.e. a period of 71 Mahāyugas (each of which is equal to 4 Yugas viz. Kṛta, Tretā, Dvāpara and Kali totalling 4320000 years).[8] Of the present Vaivasvata Manvantara, 27 Mahā yugas have already elapsed, and of the 28th Mahāyuga, three Yugas have passed away, leaving Kali which is now current. At the beginning of the current Kali Yuga, there could not have been an end of a Manvantara, and so according to the mythological scheme of Yugas applicable to the ruling periods of Manus, no flood could be expected in 3102 B. C. This year has been taken by Āryabhaṭa I, and some other astronomers as the starting point of Kali Yuga, when the Bhārata War took place[9]. His view may not be accepted, but in case of non-acceptance, it is not reasonable to substitute it by an important event—flood.

Thus, the Floods dealt with above were not simultaneous, and could not have been linked up with one another into a vast sheet of water from Mesopotamia to Rajputana as stated by Jayaswal.

3

ROYAL GENEALOGIES OF ANCIENT INDIA

Accession of Candragupta Mauryc.

I shall now deal with some aspects of the royal genealogies of ancient India from Manu to Candragupta Maurya. The fixed milestone on the chronological highway of ancient Indian history is the accession of Candragupta Maurya to the throne of Magadha at about 322 B.C.

NANDAS

The Purāṇic tradition is that 9 Nandas ruled in Magadha for 100 years.[10] The first king Mahāpadma was the son of Mahānandin, who was the last king of the Śiśunāga dynasty. There was therefore no break in the continuity of the rule. V. Smith has allotted to the Dynasty 91 years.[11] If 9 years

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more be added, the average length of reign per king comes up only to about 11 years. Hence, the Purāṇic total of 100 years for the Nandas should be accepted.

ŚIŚUNĀGAS

Śiśunāga, the first king.

According to the Purāṇas, 10 Śiśunāgas ruled in Magadha for 360 years (or 'better 163 years' according to Pargiter). The first king Śiśunāga is introduced thus in the Puranic list : 'Śiśunāga will destory all their (i.e. Pradyotaś) prestige, and will be *king*. Placing his son in Benares, he will make Girivraja his own abode'.[12]

It is not known how Śiśunāga occupied the throne, and why he left his son at Benares, but it is noteworthy that the Purāṇas do not speak of any bloodshed, or revolution, preceding the dynastic change in Magadha.

Śiśunāga soon surpassed the glory of the kings of the previous Pradyota dynasty (हत्वा तेषां यशः कृत्स्नं). There is no ground for holding the opinion that Śiśunāga eclipsed the glory of Pradyota Caṇḍa Mahāsena of the distant Āvanti.

W.Geiger's list for Śiśunāgas.

On the basis of the Ceylonese Chronicles, W. Geiger introduces drastic changes in the Śiśunāga list of the Purānas.[13] Bimbisāra is made the first king and not the 5th as the Purāṇas do, and Siśunāga the founder of the dynasty is allotted the 7th place.

As regards Bimbisāra's father Geiger states that "Bimbisāra and the prince Siddhārtha were friends, and friends likewise were the fathers of both.... *The virtuous Bimbisāra was fifteen years old when he was anointed king by his own father.*"[14]

The name of Bimbisāra's father is not mentioned by Geiger. It is given in the *Mūla-Sarvāstivāda-Vinayavasiu* (Gilgit MS.) as 'Mahāpadma'. He was a king of Magadha and used to pay tribute to the king of Aṅga, which was resented by Bimbisāra. He refused to pay the tribute and brought him under his sway by invading his capital Campā.[15] The aforesaid Chronicles represent 5 sons and successors from Ajātaśatru to Nāgadāsaka as parricides. Smith in the earlier editions of his *Early History of India* mentioned Ajātaśatru alone as

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parricide, but in the last edition (1924, p. 36), he does not believe that even Ajātaśatru committed the crime.

Criticisms of Geiger's list.

E. J. Rapson does not think the Buddhist genealogy of the Śiśunāga dynasty to be above suspicion. For, says he, "each of the five kings from Ajātaśatru to Nāgadāsaka is said to have killed his father and predecessor within a period of fifty-six years, and we are solemnly told that, after the last of these, Nāgadāsaka, has occupied the throne for twenty-four years, the citizens awoke to the fact that 'this is a dynasty of parricides', and appointed the minister Susunāga (Śiśunāga) in his stead."[16]

T. W. Rhys Davids praises the list as very reasonable and scholarly, but says at the same time, "It must be confessed that the numbers (of years of reigns of the kings) seem much too regular, with their multiples of six and eight, to be very probably in accordance with fact."[17]

Referring to Geiger's preference for the Ceylonese Chronicles as against the Purāṇas, V. Smith says that "the authority of the Purāṇic lists as against the muddled account of the *Mahāvamsa* is more dependable." Smith is reluctant to accept "any and every indubitable assertion" of the Pali canon as *true*."[18]

Even Geiger himself admits in connection with the Ceylonese royal genealogy given in the *Mahāvamśa* that "the last reigns were lengthened in order to make Vijaya and the Buddha contemporaries."[19]

In view of these remarks, the following statement of Geiger should lose a good deal of its weight viz. 'If finally the choice lies between the list of the Purāṇas and that of the Ceylonese Chronicles, which seems to be more probable and trustworthy, I do not hesitate to give the preference wholly and unreservedly to the latter."[20]

The Purānic list of Śiśunāgas has greater claim to acceptance.

All things considered, the list of names of the Śiśunaga kings found in the Purāṇas has greater claim to acceptance.

On the analogy of English kings, Smith allots a maximum of 252 years to 10 Śiśunāgas and arrives at 664 B. C. as the beginning of the rule of the dynasty. He however does not

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use this maximum period but fixes the date of Śiśunaga at 642 B. C. taking only 229 years for the total period for the dynasty instead of 252 years.

Bimbisāra reigned from 582 B. C.

Bimbisāra occupies a more or less fixed position in ancient Indian chronology because of his synchronism with the Buddha. Smith has altered the life-span of the Buddha from 566—486 B.C. to 623—543 B. C. in the 4th (last) edition of his book, and as a result of synchronism of the Buddha with Bimbisāra, the latter's probable date of accession now stands at 582 B. C. To the four kings preceding Bimbisāra in the Śiśunāga list, only 60 years have been allotted at an average of 15 years per kings. This average is too low. I shall discuss it later on.

Regarding the date of the Buddha's death Smith (*EHI*, 4th ed., p. 50) makes the following observations.

"I do not believe that the date can be fixed with anythinglike certainty, and in opposition to the arguments in favour of 487 or 486 B. C. we now have the new reading of the Khāravela inscription which, if correct, obliges us to move back all the Śiśunāga dates more than 50 years and therefore supports the Ceylon date for the death of Buddha, viz. 544 or 543 B.C. It may be argued that traditions preserved in Magadha should be more trustworthy than those recorded at a later date by monks in distant Ceylon; but there is ample evidence of the fact that Gautama Buddha was contemporary with both Bimbisāra or Srenika, and his son Ajātaśatru or Kunika, and this being so,I feel compelled, until further light is thrown on the subject to accept tentatively the earlier date 543 B. C., based on the chronology disclosed by the Khāravela inscription."

PRADYOTAS

According to the Purāṇas, the Pradyota dynasty consisting of 5 kings[21] succeeded the Bṛhadrathas, and preceded the Śiśunāgas, on the throne of Magadha, and reigned 138 years (52 years according to Pargiter). *Rapson considers this as distortion of history, because in his opinion Pradyota Caṇḍa Mahā-*

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sena and his successors ruled in reality in Avanti and not in Magadha, and Bimbisāra occupied the throne of Magadha just after Ripuñjaya, the last Bṛhadratha king.[22]

But the Purāṇas record (in the prophetic future tense) that "When the Bṛhadrathas, Vītihotras and Avantis[23] have passed away, Pulika will kill his master and anoint his own son Pradyota, by force in the very sight of the kshatriyas."[24]

In *Guṇādhya's Bṛhatkathā*, substance of which is partially preserved in the derivative Sanskrit works of the *Bṛhatkathāmañjarī*[25] by Kshemendra and the *Kathāsaritsāgara*[26] by Somadeva, Pradyota is described as king of Magadha. Vāsavadattā, the daughter of Caṇḍa.[27] Mahāsena of Avanti was the first wife of Udayana, king of Vatsa, with his capital at Kauśāmbī. Through the crafty designs of his prime minster Yaugandhrāyana, Udayana was married to Padmāvātī(Udyayana's second wife) who was the daughter of the Magadhan king Pradyota.[28]

तौ प्रद्योत-महासेनौ त्वयाबुद्धैयव वञ्चितौ ।

(*Bṛhatkathāmanjarī*, p. 76)

(Those two,—Pradyota and Mahāsena,—have been outwitted by crafty designs of you, i.e. Yaugandharāyaṇa, Prime Minister of Udayana). The detailed account is given in the *Kathāsaritsāgara*, Taraṇgas xv, xvi.

In the Paurava dynasty after Parīkshīta[29] (i.e. after the Bhārata War), *Udayana is the 24th king. In the Magadha line of kings, counting from Samādhi, the first Bṛhadratha king after the Bhārata War, Paradyota's son Pālaka is the 24th king* (22 *Bṛhadrathas*+2 *Pradyotas*). *Hence, Pālaka was ruling in Magadha at the same time as Udayana at Kauśāmbī* (*Vatsa*). For this reason, *the synchronism between Udayana, and Pālaka's sister* (i.e. *Pradyota's daughter*) *makes the marital relation possible.*

In the *Bṛhatkāthamānjarī* and *Kathāsaritsāgara*, Padmāvatī is the daughter of the Magadha king Pradyota. Bhāsa in his *Svapnavāsavadatta*,[30] Budhasvāmin in his *Bṛhatkathāślokasamgraha*[31] and the unnamed author in the *Bīṇāvāsavadatta*[32] state that *Padmāvatī was the sister of Darśaka. They do not mention her father's name. If this Darśaka be the 7th king of the Śiśunāga dynasty of the*

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Purāṇas, his sister's marriage to Udayana is impossible. For, in the royal genealogy of Magadha after the Bhārata War, Darśaka of the Śiśunāga list is the 34th king from the aforesaid Samadhi, while Udayana is the 24th Paurava king. There is thus an interval of more than 160 years between Udayana and Darśaka or Darśaka's sister, taking 18 years as average length of reign ($9 \times 18 = 162$ years). *The king Darśaka mentioned by Bhāsa should not be taken as identical with his name-sake of the Purāṇic list of the Śiśisunāga dynasty, but should be equated to Pālaka, son of Pradyota of Magadha. The fact that Darśaka had another name is suggested in a passage in Bhāsa's Svapnavāsavadatta.*[33] In a scene of the 1st Act, while announcing the arrival of Padmāvati at a hermitage, the Kancukin of the Magadha king refers to her as the "*sister of the king who used to be Darśaka by his father.*" The announcement is unusual, unless Bhāsa's Darśaka had another name.

An episode in the *Brhatkatha-ślokasamgraha* testifies to the fact that Udayana had marital relation with the royal family of Magadha as also with that of Avanti.[34]

F. E. Pargiter.

AVERAGE LENGTH OF REIGN

After examining 14 series of 20 to 30 kings of Western and Eastern countries, Pargiter finds the average to be 19 years, the longest being over 24 and the shortest 12 years. But as the average is higher in Western countries than in the Eastern, he considers 18 years for the Indian kings as "a fair and even liberal estimate." Pargiter, however, has used scarcely this average of 18 years. His averages vary, and to the kings before the Bharata War he has allotted only 12 years as the average.'[35] My revered teacher R. K. Mookerji writes in his *Hindu Civilisation* (1936), p. 153: "the only point that can perhaps be urged against Pargiter's reckoning is that it is based on an average of eighteen years for each king, which may be considered as rather a low average for the number of kings counted in the reckoning."

V. Smith.

V. Smith does not accept the years allotted by the Purāṇas for the Śiśunāgas. But Pargiter's 163 years for them is also rejected by him on the ground of its giving a low average of 163 years per king. He examines the reign of 10 English kings

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from Charles II to Victoria (inclusive) who reigned 252 years from 1649 to 1901 (two exceptionally long years of George III and Victoria included), and considers that on the analogy of English kings, 252 years should be the maximum possible average allowable to Śiśunāgas.[36]

A. Toynbee's Reference.

A. Toynbee points out that in spite of the current controversy over the dates of the kings of the First Dynasty of Babylon round about 2000 B. C., Eduard Meyer, Sidersky, Goetze, Sidney Smith, Albright, Poebel and seven other scholars are all agreed that 11 kings including Hammurabi ruled for 300 years in Babylon. This gives an average reign of 27.27 years per king.[37]

G. Bose.

G. Bose takes several sets of English kings from William I to Edward VII and finds the average to range from 20·2 to 26·1 years.[38]

Omissions in the Puranas

Ān important fact to be borne in mind in connection with the average is the omissions of names in the genealogies. The Purānas themselves admit that the genealogies are not exhaustive. That there were omissions in the Purāṇic lists of kings can be inferred from the statements in the Purāṇas themselves It is stated that mainly those kings of the Ikshvāku family who are important in the line are being spoken of here.[39] In another context, while successive names of kings from father to son are mentioned, there appears a sudden break in the succcessive list, and only a few kings of the 'great line' are given.[40] In another place,[41] the *Purāṇa* expressly states that only the principal names of the Bṛhadratha kings have been recorded.

Pargiter admits that 'insignificant kings' have been omitted from the genealogies, but he says that no compensation need be made for the omitted kings. It will not be prudent, according to him, to increase the average of 12 years for the kings before the Bhārata War to a higher figure of 13 or 13½ years. To push back the antiquity of genealogies "to vast figures is to weaken *pro tanto* the trustworthiness of the tradition about them when everything depended on memory alone."[42]

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It should he borne in mind that there were sets of people whose special duty was to commit to memory the names of kings of different dynasties, and their achievements. These people could certainly have been depended upon in regard to the accuracy of the genealogies.

Vamśa-vid in the *Vāyu-Purāṇa* (ch.88, *śl.* 69, denotes 'one who had acquired knowledge in genealogies.'[43]

"The character of these men is emphasised by the superlative *Vamśa-vittama,* showing that there were men specially learned in genealogies, just as *Veda-vittamas* are alluded to, and these special genealogists were ancient and are cited as earlier authorities by *paurāṇikas.*"

Further it should be noted that the task of memorising king-names and their achievements would not have been heavy, because on the average of 25 years per reign, the number of kings in a thousand years is 40, which a professional narrator should not have found difficult to commit to memory. If 10% of the kings at the minimum were omitted, it works out to 4 names in 1000 years. The years covering the omissions are not being taken into credit of the total of years as a measure of caution.

In view of the average already considered and also in view of the facts that there were omissions in king-names, it will, I think, be reasonable to apply 27 years as average length of reign for 125 kings from Kshatraujas (of the Śiśunāga dynasty) to Manu.[44] It works out as follows.

B. C. 3966 Accession of Manu
93 kings before the Bhārata War
22 Bṛhadrathas after ,, ,,
5 Pradyotas
4 Śiśunāgas (Śiśunāga to Ksatraujas)

Total 125 kings @ an average of 27 years per king 3375 years
B. C. 591 6 Śiśunāgas (Bimbisāra to Mahānanadin) 169 ,,
B. C. 422 9 Nandas 100 ,,
Total 3644 years
Add 322
B. C. 3966

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Before concluding this section, I want to submit that the association of the Yugas (with their implications) with the genealogies leads to anomalies and difficulties. It is, therefore, necessary that the extent of the association should be kept at the minimum.

4

History of Indian (mainly Hindu) Morals

Indian (mainly Hindu) Morals.

I now turn to another subject,—the history of Indian (mainly Hindu) morals, which, I think, offers a new field for research. An attempt may be made for carrying on studies for writing a history of Hindu morals i.e. application of ethical principles to actions in practical life. In order to explore the possibility of writing such a history, its object and method should first be pointed out.

Writers on principles of Hindu Ethics. E. W. Hopkins.

Regarding the exposition of ethical principles, Hopkins, McKenzie, Buch, Maitra, Sivaswamy Aiyer and other scholars have made valuable contributions but their theses mainly are:

(1) To exhibit ethical teachings of the ancient Hindus including truthfulness, generosity, kindness, purity of soul, forgiveness, compassion, etc. (Hopkins);[45]

I. McKenxie.

(2) To show non-existence of a philosophy of conduct or morality among Hindus, except in a crude form in the Ṛg-veda, the crudeness being due to Hindu moral life being based on ideas which did not admit of a righteous over-ruling God (McKenzie);[46]

S. K. Maitra.

(3) To discuss the excellence of ethical ideas without reference to their practice in actual life (Maitra);[47]

M. A. Buch.

(4) To find out the criteria of morality in Ṛta, Śāstra, practices of the best people, in order to reach the highest goal *Moksha* (Buch);[48]

Sivaswamy Aiyer.

(5) To prove the mutability and change of Hindu moral rules and ideals in accordance with the changing environment (Sivaswamy Aiyer).[49]

Object and method.

The history of morals is different from what these scholars give us in their treatises. I have in view the example of

1 E. W. Hopkins, *Ethics of India* 1924

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Lecky's *History of European Morals*, in which the author defines his object as follows:

"To trace the action of external circumstances upon morals,

To examine what have been the moral types proposed as ideal in different ages.

In what degree they have been realised in practice, and by what causes, they have been modified, impaired or destroyed.[50]

Criteria of Morals.

An examination of the elevations and depressions in morals at different times should be preceded by an enquiry into their nature and foundation. Difficulties arise in settling the criteria by which morals are to be judged.

Intuition and utility.

Lecky steers clear of such difficulties by reducing the criteria into 'intuitional' and 'utilitarian'. The former takes for granted the fact that man is naturally endowed with a power of perception of those qualities that he should prefer and cultivate, and of the opposites that he should repress. The latter criterion denies such power of perception and states that the notion of right and wrong is derived from the observation of the course of human life.

Criteria according to Manu, Yājnavalkya etc.

With the above ideas of Lecky may be compared what is laid down in the codes of Manu and Yājnvalkya:[51] Śruti (Vedas), Smrti (Manu, Āpastamba etc.), *Sadācāra* (practices of virtuous men) and *svasya ca priyam-āmanaḥ* (actions agreeable to one's own self) are the sources of principles by which human actions are to be regulated.

These four have been arranged in order of their superiority in regard to acceptance of moral rules derived from them in cases of conflict. In them are embedded the moral criteria of intuition and utilitarian experience. Śruti is the repository of injunctions revealed to seers. These injunctions are of the weghtiest character.

For instance, it is enjoined in the *Taittirīya Upanisad*[52] that righteous conduct, reading, teaching, truthfulness, self-restraint and mental calm are to be pursued. The same *Upanisad*[53]

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also records the instructions which the teacher is to impart to his pupil at the completion of his study:

"Speak the truth. Perform your duty. Do not neglect the daily reading (svādhyāya). Do not deviate from truth. Do not swerve from duty. Do not be careless about what is good. Do not be careless about your welfare.....Regard your mother as a goddess. Regard your father as a god. The works which are unblameable ought to be performed and not any other."

The moral character of the Romans : how it changed.

Discussing the character of the Romans from Augustus to Constantine (i.e. from 1st century B.C. to 4th century A.D.), Lecky points out the influences that operated on the character of the Romans and the changes that were brought about in that character. Stoicism, says, he, made the Roman austere, unselfish, fearless of death, and mindful of duties without expectation of reward. After the conquest of Greece by Rome, the sternness of the Romans underwent a change towards softness by coming into contact with cultured Greeks (including, in a large measure, emancipated slaves), exploitation of the colonies, influx of foreigners, facilities for travels, and the destruction of the power of the aristocracy. While the Roman character changed under different influences, the Roman society became corrupt and debased by despotism, slavery and atrocious amusements including gladiatorial shows.[54]

by stoicism

by contact with Greece;

by other influences

Afterwards came Christianity which combined the stoic feeling of brotherhood, Greek spirit of amiability and Egyptian sense of reverence and religious awe, and held the field for centuries.[55]

by Cerisitianity.

The above example gives an idea of how the moral character of a people has been traced through several centuries, and the same may be done by an historian of Indian morals.

Instances of virtues and vices of individuals, mainly kings, are found in ancient Indian literature.

Instances of virtues

1. King Hariścandra (*cir.* 3102 B. C.) of the Ikshvāku dynasty is cited as *an example of the utmost generosity, truthfulness and patience.* To keep his promise, he gave away his kingdom

Hariśchandra.

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and wealth to Viśvāmitra and became a destitute. Then to meet Viśvāmitra's demand for Dakshiṇā he sold his wife and very young son at a price which fell short of the amount needed for Dakshiṇā and supplemented it by giving himself away to Viśvāmitra, who in turn sold him to a man in charge of cremation ground. The most pathetic portion of the story is reached when Hariścandra's wife came to cremate his son but was unable to pay the necessary fee. At this stage, the former recognised her. Then the husband and wife resoloved to immolate themselves on the pyre lit for the son. At this time Viśvāmitra, highly pleased with his open-handedness, and devotion to truth, restored to Hariścandra his wife and son.

Daśaratha.

2. King Daśaratha (*cir.* 2265. B.C.) of the same dynasty banished the heir-apparent Rāma and agreed to instal Bharata in his place for the redemption of his two promises to Kaikeyī his 2nd wife and Bharata's mother. This is an instance of *rigid adherence to veracity* which people of those days held in the highest esteem. Although the detriment to the kingdom due to non-installation of Rāma as king was very great, yet the redemption of promises outweighed every other consideration. Another remarkable aspect of the incident is Rāma's *great devotion to his father and his helpful attitude towards him to follow the way of truth.*

Karṇa.

3. Karṇa (*cir.* 1455 B. C.) occupies a unique position among the personalities in the *Mahābhārata. He earned a great fame by his extraordinary generosity. He used to grant wishes of every one who approached him.* Taking advantage of this, god Indra appeared to him one day before the Bhārata War in the guise of a Brāhamaṇa and begged of him his armour and ear-rings, which made him invincible,in order to save Arjuna's life in the war that was soon to follow. Karṇa immediately complied, though he knew very well that thereby he made himself vulnerable to the deadly weapons of Arjuna. He had been forwarned that Indra would approach him for the purpose. *But his devotion to what he thought to be his duty was so great that he did not heed the warning and made the gift even at the risk of his life.*

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Hopkins' criticism of Rāma.

It would not be reasonable to appraise virtuous acts of Hariścandra, Daśaratha and Karṇa from modern standpoint. Hopkings' accusation of Rāma as betraying base suspicion and incredible brutality in regard to his acquiescence in Sītā's fire-ordeal suffers from this drawback. Rāma's conception of kingly duties viz. good government and happiness of his subjects outweighed all other considerations.

Harshea-vardhana.

4. The Chinese traveller Hiuen Tsang records an episode of unparalleled sacrifice and munificence. During his stay in India, the king Harshvardhana (606-648 A.D.) held a great ceremonial at Prayāga which continued for 75 days. Large numbers of poor and religious men assembled there from all parts of the kingdom, and received gifts from the king[56]. The treasury was then emptied of all treasure, and even the personal belongings of the king including his jewels were distributed.[57] It is stated that six such ceremonials were held in 30 years, and each time the same programme was followed.

By the modern canons of public finance, the action of Harśa may not be justified, but it must be borne in mind that in his times, such munificence was an ideal vitrtue for which Harsha was held in great esteem.

Pāramitās.

In this connection, mention may be made of the birth stories of the Buddha in the *Jātakas* and eslewhere, the moral significance of which cannot be missed. Though imaginary, they exemplify the virtues practised according to the conception of *Pāramitās* or perfections leading to, Buddhahood. The *Pāramitās* are dāna, śīla, sānti, vīrya. dhyāna, prajnā etc.—virtues genreally held in high esteem. Hopkins in his *Ethics of India* (p. 218) has referred, as an instance of what he thinks to be a moral aberration, to the story of prince Vessantara, who made a gift of his wife and children. Evidently, he has missed the spirit of the story, the object o which is to typify in its perfection the particular virtue of gift (dāna) by a Boddhisattva whose attachment to wordly things was attenuated to an extreme point preceding the attainment of Buddhahood.

Examples of Vices.

In the *Kauṭīliya*, and the *Kāmandakīya*, kings have been advised to restrain the six senses. Jāmadagnya and Ambarisa-

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Nābhāga are said to have ruled for a long time because of their ability to control the senses. Kings who failed to do so perished with their kingdoms, relatives and friends. The names of some such kings are given below:

Name of the king	*Place or* dynasty	*Demerit*
1. Bhoja or Dāṇḍakya 2. Karāla	Videha	Lust (Kāma)
3. Janamejaya 4. Tālajangha		Anger(Krodha)
5. Aila 6. Ajabindu	Sauvira	Greed (Lobha)
7. Rāvaṇa 8. Duryodhana		Self-conceit (Māna)
9 Dambhodbhava 10. Arjuna Haihaya		Intoxication through Power (Mada)
11. Vātāpi 12. Vṛsṇi		Excess of self-Confidence (Harśa)
13. Pāṇḍu		Addiction to hunting (Mṛgayā)
14. Nala	Nisadha	Addiction to dice (Aksa)
15. Vṛsṇi		Addiction to drinking(Pāna)[58]

Dice as cause of ruin.

In the *Rgveda*, a gambler disillusioned too late relates his sad experience and warns: 'Do not play at dice, pursue tillage'.[59] Dice is mentioned as a *vyasana in Manu Samhitā*.[60] Manu has advised the king to prohibit the play of dice in the kingdom,[61] but Yājnavalkya wants prohibition of deceptive dice only (Kūṭadyūta).[62]

Two glaring examples of ruination due to the play of dice are Nala and Yudhiṣṭhira.

Nala.

The virtuous king Nala of the Nisādhas (Marwar) incurred the displeasure of Kali, because Damayanti, the princess of Vidarbha, selected Nala as husband at a Svyamvara in preference to the gods. Prompted by Kali, (who felt frustated), Nala's younger brother Puskara, an expert dice-player, made repeated challenges to Nala to play dice with him,

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which Nala could not refuse ultimately without prejuidice to his honour. Nala, who staked his kingdom, lost in the game, and left his kingdom with his wife and children. In consequence, he had to pass through untold miseries.

Yudhisthira.

Yuddhiṣṭhira (*cir.* 1455 B. C.) played dice on two occasions with disastrous results. On the first occasion, asked by Dhṛtarāshṭra, he came with his brothers from Indraprastha to Hastināpura. Though at first very reluctant to play with 'that habitual winner Śakuni', he ultimately accepted the challenge on a point of honour.[63] The play began with stakes, and Yudhiṣṭhira lost in the game, one by one, his kingdom, wealth, the four brothers, himself, and even Draupadī. Taunts and abuses were heaped on the Pāṇḍavas and Draupadī by the Kauravas. Frightened by the threats of Bhīma and Arjuna, Dhṛtarāshṭra restored to Yudhiṣṭhira whatever he had lost. On the second occasion, the bet was the banishment of the vanquished from the kingdom for 13 years, of which the last was to be spent *incognito*. This time also Yudhiṣṭhira played with Śakuni, lost, and went into exile with Draupadi and the brothers.

These instances of challenge thrown out and accepted with the risks, taken on both sides, of dire consequences may well be compared to the practice of duels long prevalent in Europe and America. It is recorded in the *Encyclopaedia of Social Sciences* (vol. v. pp. 269-270) that in spite of repeated endeavours to prohibit duels in the different countries of Europe, and later on, in the U. S. A., they continued till the 19th century. During the last 400 years thousands of duels were fought. Henry IV of France granted 14,000 pardons to duelists. 4000 gentleman were killed in affairs of honour between 1589 and 1607. It was only after the International Anti-dueliing Congress held in Budapest in 1908 that the practice of fighting duels was finally and effectively brought to an end.

The relation between the teacher and the pupil is an interesting and important subject in the history of morals. In ancient India, the Guru was held in high esteem. The pupil has

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Teacher and pupil.

been enjoined in the *Taittiriya Upanisad* to revere the Guru as a god.[64] Of the four *āsramas* prescribed for the Hindus, the first Brahmacarya up to the age of 25 was to be spent as a student in the Giru's abode. Elaborate rules of conduct are laid down for the guidance of the teacher and the pupil.[65]

The narrative of Āruṇi and his Guru provides an outstanding illustration of the pupil's veneration for the teacher. One day, the Guru ordered Aruni to see that cultivated plots of land belonging to him were not flooded. Āruṇi, while watching, noticed a breach in the mound of earth around the plots, and as all his efforts to stop the rush of water through the breach failed, he laid himself down across the breach, and continued in that posture for hours till he was found out by the Guru. This gives as a glimpse of the nature of devotion shown by the pupils to the teachers. This helped to sustain the personal relation between the teacher and the pupil.

An affectionate relationship used to grow up between the teacher and the student. This contuined in the *catuspāthis* up to the 19th century. The personal relationship extended even to universities like Nālāndā, Valabhi, Vikramaśilā. R. K. Mookerji records in his *Ancient Indian Education* (1947), p.565 that out of 10,000 monks residing in Nālāndā 1,510 were teachers and 8,500 students. The average number was therefore 7 students per teacher.

The deterioration in the teacher-pupil relationship in the prevailing conditions in India has created a problem. This is attributable to various factors, such as impact of politics, limitations of economic resources, loose grip of religion and moral ideas upon the minds of the people, various distractions conflicting with single-minded devotion to studies.

Many other subjects dealt with by lecky.

There are many other virtues and their opposites,—individual or institutional,—which come within the purview of the history of morals. Lecky's work deals with many of them such as the advance of loans at interest, suicide, religious persecutions, celebacy, patriotism, philanthropy, infanticide, asceticism, and kindness to animals. A complete and fairly big chapter has been devoted by him to the treatment of the

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morals of women. This indicates that in India also, there is scope for a similar study if adequate efforts be made in that direction.

5

A

The 25th Centenary of the Parinirvāṇā of the Buddha.

This year has witnessed the 25th centenary of the Parinirvāṇa of Gautama Buddha—the apostle of peace and love. Torn as the world is today by strife and violence in many places, the teachings of the great Buddha have a specal importance for mankind.

The *Panca-Sīlas* inculcated by the Buddha have a great significance for the human society. They enjoin avoidance of (1) Killing, (2) Stealing, (3) Speaking falsehood, (4) Incontinence, and (5) Intoxication. The *Neo-Panca-Sīlas* suggested by our Prime Minister for application to inter-national relations owe their affiliation to the teachings of the Buddha regarding *Maitrī* (amity), *Karuṇā* (mercy), and *Upeksā* (equanimity). It is a matter for gratification that these precepts for the regulation of relations between nations have caught the imagination of many of them. The precepts are:—(1) Recognition of independence and sovereignty, (2) Non-aggression,)3) Non-interference in the internal affairs of other countries, (4) Mutual respect, and (5) Peaceful co-existence. The immense potentialities of the implementation of these *Sīlas* will have to pass through a course of trials through hard realities before they can actually transmit their beneficence. It is, however, hoped that in the long run, success will result, and the combined efforts of the nations will lead to lasting good will and peace in these days of threats from the lethal use of atomic energy.

B

Unity and peace within India.

India today is united geographically and knit together as never before in her history by the enormous improvement in the means of transport and communication through the application of modern scientific developments in those fields. But social unity and amity depend on several factors, some

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of which make for separatist tendencies. Our Government is trying its best to keep down or remove the sources of these adverse forces in various ways including suitable social legislation, which it has taken within its purview after the attainment of freedom. Greater speed is, however, not possible in a matter like this, if evil consequences are to be avoided.[66]

C

Problems re.M. and H. Relics.

Several decades have passed since the discoveries made by excavations at Mohenjo-Daro and Harappa. Recently, a Report of the Department of Archaeology (1955-56) shows that many finds of various descriptions, including seals with the Indus scripts and motifs, have been unearthed, as also various structures, evidencing that they are the Southern Extension of Harappa culture. The sites in which discoveries have been made are:—

(1) *Lothal* in Kathiawad (Ahmedabad District), and Rangpur,—30 miles to the south-west.

(2) *Lakhabaval*, in Halar District, but 9 miles north-east of Jamnagar. It is one of the 14 small Harappa settlements in the District.

(3) *Amra*, 3 miles away from site no. 2.

(4) *A group of* 5 *mounds called Nagar*, extending for a distance of 3000 ft., about 2 miles south-east of Prabhas Patan (Somnath, South District).

A large mass of data relating to the relics has long accumulated and many scholars have already expressed their opinions, and propounded their theories, as to the social, economic, religious, and other aspects of the culture of the people who were their authors. A good deal of labour has also been put in to solve the riddle of the Scripts. An accidental discovery of the trilingual Rosetta Stone helped the decipherment of the Egyptian Hieroglyphics. It contains the text in hieroglyphics, a Demotic version of the same, and a Greek translation. Strenous efforts were made by the eminent scholars, Young and Champollion, one after another, to study the language of the Copts, which retained elements of the ancient Egyptian

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tongue. This, together with the two versions, helped the scholarsto get at the phonetic value of the components of the picture-writing, and the meaning behind the enigma. In the ordinary course, we cannot hope that Luck will be so propitious as to bring within our reach an inscription of that sort. Scholars should therefore carry on their labours, and grope on for the light that will shed its luminance on the meaning behind the enigmatic Scripts, and other problems connected with the Mohenjo-Daro and Harappa culture. An intensive search for any clan or tribe in the area between Mohenjo-Daro and Mesopotamia to find out whether its language and writing can help in the solution of the problem regarding the Scripts should not be ruled out.

It is felt that we should have among ourselves Indian scholars with intensive knowledge of the history and antiquities of Chaldea and neighbouring places, and also those of ancient Egypt with emphasis on inscriptions. For the purpose, to begin with, one or more of the Universities should award scholarships, tenable at a time, for, say, 2 or 3 years, to study the subjects. If possible, they may be associated with the work of excavation in Mesopotamia, or Egypt, for a period, by negotiations with the authorities concerned. To ensure continuance of these scholars in the research-line after their return to India, the scholarship should be awarded to selected teachers of history in the higher classes of colleges, having a zeal for the study of the aforesaid subjects.

D

Handicap due to scarcity of essential books for research.

I want to point out that scholars are being very much handicapped for want of many books that are essential for research on Indology. They have been out of print, and the last World War has dislocated the trade in second-hand books on Indology here as well as in Europe. It is fortunate that some publishers have already given their active attention to this inconvenience, and have recently reprinted by photo-process the *Encyclopaedia of Religion and Ethics*, and Monier-Williams' *Sanskrit-English Dictionary*, which had become scarce, their pages having turned yellowish and brittle. Many other

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important works are in the same condition. They should be be reprinted as soon as practicable.

In conclusion, I thank you all for the patient hearing you have given me. I invoke now the blessings of the Goddess of learning, of whom we are all votaries, with the prayer that this History Congress may grow from strength to strength, and its members may serve the nation individually or in combination in the true spirit of service through their activities in the field of history, and that the proceedings and functions of this Congress at the present Session may be crowned with complete success.

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1 *Calmet's Dictionary of the Bible*, 1811, 3rd edition, vol. I, s.v. ,'Deluge."

2 *Encyclopaedia of Religion and Ethics*, ed. James Hastings, 1911,545 f.

3 Published by Ernest Benn Ltd., London, 1929. Cf. James Hastings' *Dictionary ofthe Bible* (1952), s. v. Deluge.

4 Suryakanta, *The Flood Legend, Delhi*, 1950, pp. 140-147

5 *Woolley, op. cit.*, p. 27. Woolley's *Ur of the Chaldees* in the Pelican vol. A. 27 (pp. 22,23) contains the same passages as quoted above. *Excavations at Ur* (1955) by the same author however mentions the depth of the silt as 11 ft. maximum and puts the area of the Flood as 300 miles × 100 miles = 30,000 sq. miles instead of 40,000 sq. miles as formerly stated in the Pelican volume, p. 24 (p.35).

6 *Ibid.*, p. 22

7 3 *Ibid.*,p.31

8 1 Kṛta = 4 × Kali
2 Tretā = 3 × Kali
3 Dvāpara = 2 × Kali
4 Kali = 432000 years.
} = Mahāyuga = 10 × Kali = 432000 yrs.

According to one astronomer, the annual rate of precession of the equinoxes is 49.8 seonds. The time taken by the earth for a revolution through a whole circle is 26024 $\frac{16}{166}$ years. This

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figure has been conveted into an integer by multiplying it by 166. (See Cunningham's *Book of Indian Eras*. P. 4)

At the end of each Manvantara, a Flood (jalaplava) takes place.

14 Manavantras= 1 Kalpa= 1 day of Brahmā (the Deity)

Another Kalpa= 1 night of Brahmā

At the end of each Kalpa, living beings meet with their destruction.

360 days (with nights) = 1 year of Brahmā

100 such years= Life span of Brahmā

At the end of the Life-span of Brahmā comes the dissolution of the Universe—Mahāpralaya.

50 years of Brahmā's life are over.

Of the present Kalpa, 6 Manvantaras are at an end and the 7th i.e., Vaivasvata Manvantara is on. Of the Mahāyugas and Yugas of this Manvantara that are over, see the text above.

Sūrya-Siddhānta, I, 15-22 Ślokas.

Vāyu, ch. 5, 6 ślk re. *pralaya* at the end of a kalpa:

Viṣṇu, VI ch. 1,2-6 ślks. re. *pralaya* at the end of a kalpa, and *Mahā* (*Prākrita*) *pralaya* at the end of the life-span of Brahmā.

9 P. C. Sen Gupta, *Anc. Ind. Chronology*,p. 45 *EI*, VI pp. 11, 12; Fleet, *JRAS*, 1911, p. 689

10 Pargiter, *Dynasties of the Kali Age* (or *DKA* 1913), pp. 26 and 69. In Ancient Indian Historical Tradition (or *AIHT*, 1922), p. 287, he allots 80 years to Nandas (B.C. 402-322).

11 *Early History of India* (or *EHI*, 4th ed., 1924), p. 44

12 Pargiter's translation, *DKA*, p. 68. For collated version, see p. 21

हत्वा तेषां यशः कृत्स्नं शिशुनागो भविष्यति ।
वाराणस्यां सुतं स्थाप्य श्रयिष्यति गिरिव्रजम् ।।

13 For convenience of comparison, the lists according to *Mahāvamśa* (tr. *Geiger*, 1912, intro. p. XLVII) and *Matsya Purāṇa* (Smith, *EHI*, 4th ed. p. 51) are given below:

Mahāvmaśa	*Years*	*Matsya P.*	*Years*
1. Bimbisāra	52	1. Śiśunāga	40
2. Ajātaśattu	32	2. Kākavarṇa	26

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Mahavamsa	*Years*	*Matsya P.*	*Years*
3. Udayabhadda	16	3. Ksemadharman	36
4. Anuraddha 5. Muṇḍa	8	4. Ksemajit(or Ksatraujas)	24
6. Nāgadāsaka	24	5. Bimbisāra	28
		6. Ajātaśattu	27
7. Śiśunāga	18	7. Darśaka	24
8. Kālāsoka	28	8. Udāsin or Udaya	33
9. 10 sons of Kālāsoka	22	9. Nandivardhana	40
10. 9 Nandas	22	10. Mahānandin	43

14 Geiger, *Mahāvamśa* (tr.) II, 25-29, p. 12

15 N. Dutt, *Gilgit Manuscripts*, vol. III, pt. IV, intro. p. viii

16 *Cambridge History of India* (or *CHI*), vol. I (1955), p. 279

17 *Ibid*, p. 169

18 *EHI*, (4th ed.), p. 39, n. 1

19 *Mahāvamśa* (tr.), intro. p. xliv

20 *Mahāvamśa* (tr.) intro. p. xliv. See Appendix I.

21 The five Pradyota kings are:

1. Pradyota
2. Pālka
3. Viśākhyayūpa
4. Ajaka
5. Nandivardhan

22 *CHI* (1955), p. 277

23 Haihayas comprised 5 families of whom Avantis were one (Pargiter, *AIHT*, p. 102) The territory called Avanti obviously took its name from the family. According to Rhys Davids (*Buddhist India*, 1955, p. 17):

"It was called Avanti at least as late as the second century A. D. but from the seventh or eighth century onwards, it was called Mālava."

24 Pargiter, *DKA*, p. 68

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25 प्रद्योतो मगधाधीश :

(Pradyota the king of Magadha)—*Bṛhatkathāmañjari*, Nirnayasāgara ed., Sl. 99, p. 76

26 प्रद्योतो मगधेश्वर :

(Pradyota the king of Magadha)—*Kathāsaritsāgara*, Nirnayasâgra ed., III, I, Sl. 19, p. 48

27 Mahāsena became distinguished as Caṇḍa Mahāsena, because of his extreme austerities. उत्कृत्याथ स्वमांसानि होमकर्म स चाकरोत् । . .अतीव चण्डं कर्मेह कृतं चैतद् यतस्त्वया । अतश्च ण्डमहासेन इत्याख्या ते भविष्यति ।

Kathāsaritsāgara Nirṇayasāgra ed. III, 37-40, p. 33

According to the same treatise, the genealogy of Mahāsena is as follows:

1. Mahendravarman
2. Jayasena
3. Mahāsena
4. Gopālaka and Pālaka (king), pp. 33 and 40

28 The ministers of Udayana deliberated thus:

वयं राजहितं कुर्मः साधयामोऽस्य मेदिनीम् ।
परिपन्थी तु तत्रैकः प्रद्योतो मगधेश्वरः ।।
पार्ष्णिग्राहः स हि सदा पश्चात् कोपं करोति नः ।
तत्तस्य कन्यकारत्नमस्ति पद्मावतीति यत् ।
तदस्य वत्सराजस्य कृते याचामहे वयम् ।।

KSS, III, 1 sls. 18-20 p. 48

(We are promoting the welfare of the king by expanding his territories. But Pradyota the king of Magadha is an impediment on the way, as he can at any time attack us from the rear. For that reason, we would ask, for the king of Vatsa, his Pradyota's jewel of a daughter named Padmāvatī).

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प्रद्योतो मगधाधीशो दूतेनाभ्यर्थ्य भूभुजे ।
दातुं पद्मावतीमैच्छत् पार्वतीमिव शूलिने ।।

Bṛhatkathāmānjatī, II, Sl. 93, p. 75

(Pradyota, the king of Magadha, having requested the king, Udayana, through a messenger, offered, Padmavati to him, as the offer of Pārvatī was made to Śiva).

29 I exclude Abhimanyu's name from Pargiter's Paurava King-list (in the *DKA*, p. 4) because in Pargiter's royal genealogical table (*AIHT*, pp. 146-149), the 95th Paurava king is Abhimanyu who never reigned, and should therefore be replaced by Pariksit. So the Dynāsty after the Bharata War began with Janamejaya from whom Udayana is the 24th king (inclusive of Janamejaya and Udayana).

30 ed. Ganapati Sastri, 1912, p. 4

31 ed. Lacote, v. 286, p. 74

32 ed. Madras Oriental Series p. 9

33 काञ्चुकीयः । भोः श्रूयताम् । एषा खलु गुरुभिरभिहितनामधेयस्यास्माकं महाराजदर्शकस्य भगिनी पद्मावती वाम । *S V*, p. 4

34 सान्तःपुरपरीवारः सदारसचिवस्ततः ।
सापौरश्रेणीवर्गश्च यानमध्यास्त भूपतिः ।। 284
प्राक् प्राचीमगमद्दिशम् ।' 285
ददर्श दर्शकस्तत्र यानं यान्नगरोपरि । 286
पद्मावतीद्वितीयेन स च राज्ञाभिवादितः ।। 287
इति प्रदक्षिणीकृत्य स भुवं सागराम्बराम् ।
अवन्तिनगरीं प्रायात् प्रवृत्तोदकदानकाम् ।। 288
प्रद्योतस्य तदालोक्य रत्नप्रद्योतपिञ्जरम् ।
किमेतदिति सन्देहदोलादोलमभून्मनः ।। 290
सन्दिहन्मानसस्येति प्रद्योतस्य पुरः शरम् ।
पातायामास वत्सेशः शनकैर्लेखिताक्षरम् ।। 292

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महासेनस्तमादाय चित्रमेतदवाचयत् ।
राजन्नुदयनश्चौरः सदारस्त्वां नमस्यति ।। 293
इति श्रुत्वा महासेनो जामातरममाषत ।
चौराय दत्तमभयं तस्मादवतरत्विति ।। 294

Bṛhatkathāślokasamgraha, ed. Lacote, V. 284-294, pp. 73, 74 (The king was seated in the aero-vehicle with his spouses, members of the household, ministers, and some members of the city guilds. 284. At first he proceeded in the eastern direction 285. *Darśaka saw the aero-vehicle moving over the city.* 286. *Hewas saluted by the king along with Padmavātī.* 287. Thus while circling over the land girdled by the sea, he flew to the city of Avanti. 288. Looking at that shining jewelled frame-work of the vehicle, Pradyota's mind became agitated with the question as to what the thing was. 290. *In front of the inquiring Pradyota fell an arrow with a missive shot by the king of Vastsa.* 292. *The former took up the queer thing and perused it*: '*Oh king, the pilferer Udayana with his wife is saluting you.*' 293. *After this Mahāsena shouted to his son-in-law*: '*Pardon is granted to the pilferer. He may now come down.*' 294).

35 See Pargiter, *AIHT*, pp. 287 and 301, from which the following has been taken:

(From 322 B.C. to earlier times)

9	Nandas	80 years.
10	Śiśunāgas (average 16½ yreas)	165 ,,
5	Pradyotas (average 10½ yeras)	53 ,,
16	Bṛhadrathas (Ripunjaya to Senajit, 6th king after Bhārata War, 950 B. C. acc. to Pargiter,—average 14½ yrs.)	231 years
6	Bṛhadrathas (Bṛhatkarman to Somadhi)	100 ,,
92	Steps up to Pururavas	1104 ,,
		1732 yrs.
	Accession of Candragupta	322 B.C.
	Advent of Ailas	2054 B.C.

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36 Smith, *EHI*, (4th ed.), p. 47

37 A. Toynbee, *A Study of History*. vol. x (1954), p. 192

38. Purāṇa Praveśa (1934), p. 66

1 William	I	1066-1087	}	261/10	average 26.1	yrs.
10 Edward	II	1307-1327	}			
			}	202/19	,, 20.2	,,
19 Henry	VII	1485-1509	}			
			}	203/10	,, 20.3	,,
28 James	II	1685-1688	}			
			}	225/10	,, 22.5	,,
37 Edward	VII	1901-1910				
				844/37	,, 22.8	

39 एते इक्ष्वाकुदायादा राजानः प्रायशः स्मृताः ।
बंशे प्रधाना ये ते स्मिन् प्राधान्येन तु कीर्तिताः ॥

Vāyu Purāṇa, ch. 88, 213. See Pargiter. AIHT, p. 89

40 तस्यान्ववाये महति महापौरवनन्दनः ।

Matsya Purāṇa, ch. 49, 72; *Vāyu Purāṇa*, ch. 99. 187

Referring to the above, Pargiter writes: "In fact it will be found that gaps occur sometimes in the genealogies, and in one place it is frankly admitted that there is a gap."—*AIHT*, p. 89

41 अत ऊर्ध्वं प्रवक्ष्यामि मागधेयान् वृहद्रथान् ।
जरासन्धस्य ये वंशे सहदेवान्वये नृपाः ।
अतीता वर्तमानाश्च भविष्याश्च तथा पुनः ।
प्राधान्यतः प्रवक्ष्यामि गदतो मे निबोधन ॥

Vāyu Purāṇa, ch. 99, 294-5.

42 Pargiter, *AIHT*, p. 183

43 *Ibid.*, p. 27

44 See Appendix 11

45 E. W. Hopkins, *Ethics of India, 1924*

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46 John McKenzie, *Hindu Ethics, a historical and critical Essay*, 1922

47 S. K. Maitra, *Ethics of the Hindus*, 1925

48 M.A. Buch, *The Principles of Hindu Ethics*, 1921

49 Sivaswamy Aiyer, *Evolution of Hindu Morals*, 1935

50 *History of European Morals* from Augustus to Chariemagne 1913 (London) in 2 volumes (468+372 pp.) written in 1869 at the age of 31, by the Irish scholar, E. H. Lecky, of remarkable ability.

Sivaswamy Aiyer (*op. cit.*, preface, pp. ix and x) remarks that a good deal of study and research are necessary to write a history of Hindu morals on the line of Lecky.

51 *Manu*, 2, 12; *Yajnavalkya*. 1., 7

52 *Taitt. Up.* 1, 9 : ऋतं च स्वाध्यायप्रवचने च। सत्यं च..। दमश्च..। शमश्च..।

53 *Ibid.* 11 : सत्यं वद। धर्मं चर। [स्वाध्यायान्मा प्रमदः। सत्यान्न प्रमदितव्यम्। धर्मान्न प्रमदितव्यम्। कुशलान्न प्रमदितव्यम्। भूत्यै न प्रमदितव्यम्।..मातृदेवो भव। पितृदेवो भव। आचार्यदेवो भव। अतिथिदेवो भव। यान्यनवद्यानि मर्माणि तानि सेवितव्यानि। नो इतराणि

54 Lecky, *History of European Morals*, vol. 1. pp. 161-335

55 *Ibid.*, p. 335

56 *Smith, EHI.* p. 364:

"The assembly was attended by all the vassal kings and a vast concourse of humbler folk estimated to number half a million including poor, orphans and destitute persons, besides specially invited Brahmans and ascetics of every sect from all parts of Northren India. The proceedings lasted for seventy five days.."

57 *Ibid.*, p. 365: "All being given away, he begged from his sister (Rājyaśrī) an ordinary second-hand garment."

58 *Kauṭīliya*, 1, 3; *Kāmandakīya*, ch. 1

59 Rv, x, 34 1-14

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60 *Manu Samhitā* 27, 47

61 *Ibid.*, 9. 221-227

62 *Yājñavalkya Samhitā*, 2, 202-206

63 *MBh*, *Sabhā* 58, 16; 59, 18

64 *Taitt. Up.*, I, 11

65 *Manu Samhitā*, ch. II

66. K.M. Panikkar, *Hindu Society at Cross Roads*, 1955,(related portions), and *The State and the Citizen*, 1956 pp. 51 ff., 82 ff.

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APPENDIX I

Chronology (Approximate) of Śiśunāga and Nanda Dynasties according to V. Smith (a)

Serial No.	Kings	Col. 1 1st edition: 1904		Col. 2 2nd edition: 1908	
	Śiśunāga Dynasty	Probable Date of Accession	Length of Reign	Probable Date of Accession	Length of Reign
1	Śiśunāga	B.C. 600		B.C. 600	
2	Kākavarṇa				
3	Ksemadharman	For the 4 Kings together	81 years		72 years
4	Ksemajit or Ksatraujas				
5	Bimbisāra ..	519	28	528	28
6	Ajātśatru ..	491	32	500	25
7	Darśaka ..	459	25	475	25
8	Udāsin or Udaya	434	33	450	33
9	Nandivardhana	401	40	417	46
10	Mahānandin				
	Total ..		239		229
	Average ..		23·9		22·9
	Nanda Dynasty				
11	Mahāpadma etc.	361	40	371	50
12	9 Kings : 2 Generations				
	Maurya Dynasty				
	Candragupta Maurya	321	24	321	24

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APPENDIX I (*Contd.*)

Chronology (Approximate) of Śiśunāga and Nanda Dynasties according to V. Smith (b)

Col. 3		Col. 4		Col. 5		Col. 6
3rd edition: 1914		4th edition: 1924		Acc. to N. Law		The Buddha
Probable Date of Accession	Length of Reign	Probable Date of Accession	Length of Reign	Probable Date of Accession	Length of Reign	
B.C. 602		B.C. 642		B.C. 699		B.C.
	72 years		60 years		108 years for the 4 kings @ 27 years each (average)	b. 693
530	23	582	28	591	28	
502	27	554	27	563	27	
475	24	527	24	536	24	Nirvāṇa 543
451	33	503	33	512	33	
418	46	470	57	479	57	
	230		229		277	
	23·0		22·9		27·7	
372	50	413	91		100	
				422		
322	24	322 (325?)	24	322	24	

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APPENDIX II

Some Kings of the Royal Genealogies of ancient India with approximate Dates (c)

Date of Accession	Serial No.	Ayodhyā *Ikshvāku Dynasty*	*Paurava Dynasty*
B. C. 3966	1	Manu	Manu
3939	2	Ikshvāku	Ilā
3912	3	Vikuksi-Śaśāda	Pururavas
3858	5	Veṇa	Nahusha
3831	6	Pṛthu	Yayāti
3804	7	..	Puru
3777	8	..	Janamejaya I
3453	20	Yuvanāśva	Tamsu
3426	21	Māndhātṛ	
3102	33	Hariścandra	
2913	40	Sagara	
2832	43	..	Dushyanta
2805	44	Dilīpa I	
2778	45	Bhagiratha	
2481	56	Mūlaka	
2373	60	Dilīpa II Khat-vāṅga	
2319	62	Raghu	
2238	65	Rāma	
2103	70	Nala	
2076	71	Nabhas	Kuru
2049	72	Puṇḍarika	Parīkshit I
2022	73	Kshemadharman	Janamejaya II

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APPENDIX II (*Contd.*)

Some Kings of the Royal Genealogies of ancient India with approximate Dates (d)

Date of Accession	Serial No.	*Ayodhyā Ikshvāku Dynasty*	*Paurava Dynasty*	*Magadha Dynaity*
B.C. 1860	79	Vajranābha	Arādhin	Bṛhadratha
1509	92	Amarsa	Vicitravīrya	Jarāsandha
1455	94	Bṛhatbala	Pāṇḍava	Sahadeva
BHĀRATA BATTLE (1455 B.C.)				
1428	95	Bṛhatkshaya	Janamejaya III	Somādhi
1401	96	Urukshaya	Śatānika	Śrutiśravas
1320	99	Divākara	Abhisīmakṛsṇa	Niramitra
1266	101	Bṛhadaśva	Usṇa	Bṛhatkarman
1239	102		Citraratha	Senājit
861	116		Vasudeva	Ripunjaya
834	117		Śatānika	Pradyota
807	118		UDAYANA	Pālaka
699	122	Sumitra (End of Dynasty)	Kshemaka (End of Dynasty	Śiśunāga
591	126			Bimbisāra
563	127			Ajātaśatru
479	130			Nandivardhana
422	132			Mahāpadma
322	141			Candragupta Maurya

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SECTION I

ANCIENT INDIAN HISTORY

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SECTION I

PRESIDENTIAL ADDRESS

By

T. N. Ramachandran

Joint Director General of Archaeology.

I am grateful indeed to the Executive Committee of the Indian History Congress for electing me as a President of Section I (Ancient History) of the nineteenth session of the Congress. We are on the threshold of rediscovering ourselves. The gaps in our knowledge of India's past are shrinking, thanks to many-sided efforts of archaeologists and scholars and the frontiers of our knowledge are ever on the increase.

During the past three years many important discoveries have been made in the domain of prehistoric and protohistoric archaeology. But as time would not permit me to refer to them all, only the most outstanding ones are being mentioned here. The efforts of Messers. H. D. Sankalia, M. N. Deshpande, S. R. Rao, V. S. Wakanker and K. V. Soundara Rajan have brought to light a large number of palaeolithic sites in the State of Rajasthan and Madhya Pradesh; Dr. Subba Rao has explored the Mahi Valley in Gujarat and put on the map several paleolithic and microlithic sites; Shri K. V. Soundara Rajan has shown that the Nagarjunakonda valley in Andhra-desa, otherwise famous for its Buddhist remains, was also occupied by the Palaeolithic Man. However, the most remarkable is the discovery of chopperchopping tools of the 'Sohan' type in the valleys of the Beas and Sutlej, made variously by Shri Olaf Prufer, Drs. D. Sen and Y. D. Sharma and Shri B. B. Lal. Shri Lal has not only collected a larger number of specimens, but has worked out their correlation with the local river-terraces and has also indicated that future work in the region is likely to place these tools in a well-defined Glacial and Interglacial sequence. That the partition of the country in 1948 did not leave any site of the 'Sohan' type on our side of the border need not upset us any more !

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Prof. Zeuner's study of the *microliths* from the *Teris* of South India has clearly established that they belonged to about 4000 B.C. or even earlier. In Eastern India Shri B. B. Lal has brought to light a very important *microlithic industry* at Birbhanpur in West Bengal, which is both non-geometric and pre-pottery—factors which point to its high antiquity. The same scholar has shown, on the basis of typology and associated pottery, that the Neolithic culture of Eastern India was different from that of South India.

In the domain of protohistory many discoveries of far-reaching significance have been made. Excavations at Lothal near Ahmedabad by Shri S. R. Rao and explorations in the neighbouring region by him, Shri P. P. Pandya and others have established beyond doubt that the Harappa culture extended to the south-east much beyond the confines of the Indus Valley. Likewise, Dr. Y. D. Sharma's work in the Sutlej valley has shown that Kotla Nihang was only one of the many Harappan sites in the north-east. His excavations at Rupar have not only revealed the existence of a large Harappan township, with a cemetery close by, but have provided a firm sub-stratum for the dating of the *Painted Grey Ware culture*. One may also recall here the discovery of several Harappa and Painted Grey Ware sites in the Ghaggar valley made by Shri A. Ghosh some years ago. All these discoveries enabale us to understand the extent and diffusion of the Harappa culture in a much better way than it was possible in the early fifties.

In Central India, the work of Drs. Sankalia, Deo, Dikshit and Subba Rao and of Sarvashri Thapar, Deshpande, Wakanker and Banerjee has brought to light a *chalcolithic culture* characterized by black-on-red pottery, microliths and a few objects of copper or bronze. Of the several sites belonging to this culture, particular mention may be made of Maheshvara, Nevasa, Prakash, Bahal, Jorwe, Tripury Nasik and Nagda. Though much more work is necessary to fix up the chronological horizon of this culture, available evidence goes to show that at its maturity it was post-Harappan.

In the upper Ganga valley a firm sequence of *protohistoric cultures* has been established as a result of the explorations and excavations carried out by Shri B. B. Lal. In the first place, he has shown that the

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copper hoards, consisting of swords, harpoons, anthropomorphic figures, etc., belonged not to the Aryans, as Professors Stuart Piggott and Heine Geldern believed but to a non-Aryan people who were in occupation of the valley before the arrival of the Aryans. More interesting, however, is the evidence regarding the Aryans themselves. And here one may recall briefly the main results of the excavation carried out by Shri Lal at Hastinapura on the banks of the Ganga. At this site five occupational Periods were identified. From bottom upwards, Period I was characterized by an ochre-coloured ware, which, on the basis of evidence from other sites like Bahadarabad, Rajpur, Parsu, etc., seems to be associated with the Copper Hoard culture of the pre-Aryans. The prominent industry of Period II was the Painted Grey Ware-bowls and dishes of fine-grained grey ware with designs painted in black pigment. The people dwelt in houses made of mud or mud-bricks: they lived mainly on agriculture and breeding cattle, amongst which particular mention may be made of the horse (*Equus caballus*). Copper was the chief metal, and cylindrical weights of chert and jasper were used for weighing commodities. As time passed, there occurred a large-scale flood in the Ganga, as a result of which a considerable portion of the township was washed away and the site was abandoned for some time to come. On the basis of pottery, coins, etc., found in the subsequent periods the *Painted Grey Ware culture* at Hastinapura has been dated *c.* 1100 (or earlier) to *c.* 800 B.C.

The Painted Grey Ware has been found by Shri Lal at over fifty sites including Panipat, Kurukshetra, Mathura, Indraprasta, etc., most of which are associated with the *Mahābhārata* story. Again, the flood at Hastinapura finds a mention in the great epic. Painted Grey Ware settlements have also been found by Shri A. Ghosh along the banks of the Ghaggar—the Sarasvati of the Vedic literature. Thus, all evidence goes to suggest that the Painted Grey Ware culture belonged to the Arynas who entered India some time in the second half of the second millennium B. C., if not earlier.

Indeed what has been achieved is but a fraction of what still remains to be done. For example, it is essential that a few Painted Grey Ware sites should be excavated totally so that we may get a

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more detailed picture of these Aryan settlements. Again, extensive explorations are necessary in order to locate sites which may throw light on the inter-relationship between the Painted Grey Ware and the Chalcolithic ware of Central India. Equally essential is to ascertain the evolution and diffusion of the black-and-red ware of Ahar. It is hoped that these problems will be tackled as early as possible.

In 1955, Dr. H. D. Sankalia continued the excavations at Nevasa and explored the Godavari and the Pravara valleys at several places. The explorations on these rivers have given a definite proof of two Stone Ages, viz., the "Early" Palaeolithic and the "Middle" Palaeolithic. It may be noted that this is the first time that such a well stratified evidence is available for the succession of these two Stone Age cultures. The excavations at Nevasa have given a succession of cultures from the Chalcolithic up to the fourteenth century. The important things in this cultural sequence are the fact that the Chalcolithic culture of Nevasa is identical in many respects with that of the polished-axe culture of Brahmagiri. As in Brahmagiri, the children adults were buried right in the habitation floor and at Nevasa so far 30 burials have been secured of which 27 are of children and 3 of adults. This is the first time that such evidence is available about the burial habits of the Chalcolithic people from this part of India. Another important feature which was detected in this season's excavations was a stratigraphical break suggested by weathered layer between the Chalcolithic and the Early Historic (Sātavāhana). The Sātavāhana culture was not only well documented by a variety of finds, but this year Dr. Sankalia got further evidence of the Roman and Indo-Parthian contact in the shape of a copper or bronze dish with an ompholos in the centre and terracotta masks. Similar objects have been found from the Indo-Parthian city at Taxila. Nevasa seems to be a very rich site, both in the Early Historic and the Chalcolithic cultures and if it is horizontally excavated, it is hoped full details about the way of life of people at these two periods shall be obtained.

The excavations at Lothal in Ahmedabad District undertaken by Mr. S.R. Rao during the last two years have established beyond doubt that the Harappa culture extended as far south as the northern

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reaches of the Bombay State. More than a hundred Indus Seals and Sealings bearing animal motifs and Indus Script have been found at Lothal. Painted pottery and other typical Harappan objects such as copper and bronze tools, beads of stone and gold, and chert blades and weights recovered in the course of the excavations indicate the wealth of material equipment. Lothal was a full-fledged Harappa settlement (2500 B. C. to 1500 B. C.) on the Kathiawad coast carrying on extensive trade with Indus Valley Cities. The inhabitants manufactured terracotta sealings on a mass scale.

The results of the excavation at the neighbouring site of *Rangpur* have shed new light on a dark age of Indian History. A continuous cultural sequence from 2000 B. C. to 800 B. C. without any break, has been obtained thus linking up the Harappa culture with the Black and Red Ware culture of the pre-Buddhistic period. Another contribution of Rangpur excavation is that it has demonstrated how a great flood was responsible for the destruction of the Harappa settlement. All the dwellings were built over brick platforms. Unlike in the Indus Valley itself, the Harappa culture in Saurashtra lingered on in a degraded form from 1500 B. C. to 1100 B. C. Subsequently it transformed itself by 1000 B. C. into another culture known as the *Lustrous Red Ware Culture* which still retained certain features of the Harappa culture. A distinct ceramic industry viz., the Black and Red Ware was also present as a variant of the *Lustrous Red Ware*. The latter Ware lost its lustre in due course as is demonstrated at Mota Machiala and both the wares moved in course of time into Central India and the Deccan. It has now become possible to establish a relationsnip between the Chalcolithic cultures of the Deccan and Malwa plateau on the one hand and the Harappa culture on the other through the Lustrous Red Ware and Black and Red Ware cultures. Rangpur has thus provided missing links in the devolution of Harappa culture and thrown new light on the circumstances leading to its survival in Saurashtra for four more centuries up to 1100 B. C. gradually undergoing certain changes until at last it merged in the form of the Chalcolithic cultures of the Kathiawad Peninsula, Central India and the Deccan with certain local variations. But all of them come from the same stock,

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Extensive exploration of Gujrat, Saurashtra and Kutch undertaken in the course of the last three years has resulted in locating as many as forty Harappa and post-Harappa sites in this region. These sites can be classified into four main groups based on the cultural phases of Rangpur, viz., Rangpur IIa (2000—1500 B.C.—Harrappa Culture), Rangpur IIb (1500 B. C.—1100 B. C.—Late Harappa), and Rangpur III-(1000 B. C.—800 B. C.— Post-Harappa Lustrous Red Ware Culture). With the destruction of the main centres of their civilization the prosperity of the Harappans declined. This is revealed by the poor material equipment unearthed at late-Harappa sites like Lakhabaval, Amara and Somnath (excavated by the M.S. University and Saurashtra Archaeological Department). The Lustrous Red Ware and the Black and Red Ware came into prominence between 1100 B. C. and 800 B. C. In the beginning of the first millennium B.C. the successors of Harappans who used copper and bronze axes, parallel-sided blades of chert, etc., and ceramic wares such as the Black and Red Ware and the Black-on-Red Painted Ware settled down at places like Ahar, Nagda, Prakasha, Jorwe, Nasik and Ujjain.

Mr. N. R. Banerjee's excavation at Ujjain in 1955 was to obtain further evidence of the early periods of India's past in general and of Ujjain in particular. Ujjain's continuous history is known from the *Rāmāyaṇa*, the *Mahābhārata*, Buddhist and other literature, the *Periplus* and from inscriptions. Its glory was sung by Kālidāsa. Above all, it is of singular interest to the archaeologist being located on the bank of the Siprā, a tributary of the Chambal (Charmanvatī) on the peripheral region of the currently known frontiers of the chalcolithic culture. Such an ancient city could not but be affected by the chalcolithic settlers of the surrounding regions. To obtain evidence of its prehistoric or protohistoric past and in the hope of forging a link with the Indus culture, which as we saw above now extends as far south as Lothal in Saurashtra, excavation was taken up here as well as at Nagda, on the bank of the Chambal, 35 miles away from Ujjain. Work at Nagda revealed it to be an extensive and possibly fortfied outpost of the chalcolithic folk. And Ujjain, the famous ancient city, being so near could not, reasonably, have escaped the in-

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fluence of the inherently virile and expansive chalcolithic folk. Work at Uujjan showed that the site was indeed occupied from about circa 700 B. C. to the Medieval Muslim period. Evidence of the chalcolithic culture was rather straggling and inadequate in the excavated area proper, but the occurrence of chalcolithic culture in the region was not thereby ruled out, but positively indicated instead.

Indian Art has been described as opening a simple yet delightful way into the timeless domain of the Indian spirit. Indian Art has an individuality of its own, one of rare aesthetic sense, combining skill, beauty and craftsmanship with durability and utility. The creations of Indian Art are not only noted for quantity but also for their quality. Indian Art-products are the results of man's urge to express himself or his divine self. Indian Art has a hoary past. The Indus Valley Civilization of the third millennium B. C. which is in fact the oldest civilization of India so far known by excavations, reveals a well-designed and highly artistic culture already at an advanced stage of development, when stone and copper were used side by side. That the artists of the Indus Valley had fully grasped the essential elements of form and decoration is apparent in the patterns of painted pottery based on geometrical and animal forms and also in the statuary figures of steatite, faience and clay. The art of metal casting as well as carvings in stone had also attained skilled development. At Mohenjo-Daro the earliest known Indian bronze statuette was discovered, which represents a remarkable figure of a dancing girl. Both sculpture and bronze were developed as characteristic art-forms at the very outset of Indian history.

The creations of Indian Art, such as images, sculptures, seals and sealings as at Mohenjo Daro, are only the external manifestations of internal experiences. Such being the case, as in language and speech so also in art, certain modes of expression or record were depicted. The most important among these methods are three, which have been continuing through the ages—(1) the Symbolic Method, (2) the Synoptic Method and (3) the Narrative. At the dawn of Indian Civilization as reflected in the Proto-Historic Art of the Indus Valley, we find that not only the Symbolic but also the Synoptic methods were so very popular that both are employed in plastic art

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and in pictograph and script. In Indus culture animals get the limelight. The seals and sealings from Mohenjo Daro and Harappa represent amidst pictographs animals special to India, such as the humped bull with its profound dewlap, the majestic elephant, the buffalo, the tiger, the rhinoceros and the antelope. The Vedic literature, whatever be its date, is still the earliest known literature of India. The Rig-Vedic idea that the bull does all the roaring to proclaim *Dharma-Vijaya* is caught up by the Mohenjo-Daro seals and sealings representing the bull with its characteristic dewlap. That such a bull with its powerful physique bellows for all time to come the advent of a Great God (*Maho-Devah*) is the spirit of a few sealings from the Indus Valley of the third millennium B. C. where the bull is shown with three heads, one of the heads looking back, the second head which is centrally placed looking down and the third head looking ahead or stretched forward. The head looking behind indicates in synoptic language that the bull had roared and this relates to the past. The head looking down means that it is roaring and this indicates the present. The third head stretch forward or looking ahead means the bull will roar and this indicates the future. Thus the past, present and future stages of time are suggested by his three-headed bull. That this bull does not look up brings out the idea that it is concerned with the mortal world. This seal combined with another seal wherein the anthropomorphic figure of a God supposed to be Rudra as Mahāyogī seated amidst animals such as bull, elephant, rhinoceros, tiger, antelopes and among men and birds and fish brings out forcibly the ideas contained in the Rigvedic hymns.

त्रिधा बद्धो वृषभो रोरवीति महोदेवो मर्त्यानाविवेश ।

"The thrice-bent bull goes on roaring that the Great God (is no longer in some invisible heavens but) has actually completely entered the mortals.'

Such is the purpose in posing the God in the centre of the seal amidst the rhinoceros, the elephant, the buffalo, the bull, the tiger, antelopes, men, birds and fish and characterising it, or labelling it on the top by pictographic series. The seated God in this is cross-legged. He is *Urdhavaretas* in the state of *penis erectum* which stands for virility and potentiality. There are, stripes all over his body as we find to-day in the case

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of worshippers of Śiva or on the orientation of a *Śyena-chiti* altar. The God has more than three faces, perhaps four were meant, as we can clearly make out, and over these heads is set up a pair of buffalo's horns. Another *Rik* from the *Rigveda* throws furtner light on the iconography of the God of this seal.

ब्रह्मा देवानां पदवीः कवीनां ऋषिर्विप्राणां महिषो मृगाणाम् ।
श्येनो गृध्राणां स्वधितिर्वनानां सोमः पवित्रं अत्येतिरेभन् ।।

"Brahmā among Gods, a leader of poets, a Rishi among sages, a buffalo among animals, a hawk among vultures, axe among weapons, over the sieve goes Soma with a roar.'

Such a Rigvedic description of the God, who among the Gods is the greatest, namely, Brahmā, who among the wise is an Arch-Ṛishi, who among animals is the buffalo, etc., is what we find echoed later on in the Puranic period when Lord Krishna in the Great song *Bhagavad-Gitā* (10th *adhyāya*) announces his *Svarāpa* as

देवानामस्मि वासवः ।
कवीनां उशना कविः ।
महर्षीणां अहं भृगुः ।
मृगणां च मृगेन्द्रोऽहम् ।
दैनतेयश्च पक्षिणां ।
आयुधानां अहं वज्रम् ।
नक्षत्राणां अहं शशी ।
धाताहं विश्वतो मुखः ।

The fact that roaring or bellowing eternal truth for eternity was function assigned to the bull (*Vrishabha*)in Indian Art, is carried through the ages and immortalized by depicting it in MohenjoDaro seals and in the third century B. C. at Rampurva on one of the Asokan pillars and again depicting it on Jayastambhas of the Historic Period and crystallising it in the conception of the never failing announcer or attendant of the God Rudra or Paśupati by making the bull the permanent *vāhana* of no less a God than Śiva, who is also Rudra and Paśupati. Evene to-day when a temple God is taken out in procession a stud-bull issues out in front with a pair of drums on its back announcing as it were by beat of drum the advent of the great God. As we walk through the ages, the bull emerges

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as an inevitable associate of the God Rudra. The God on Mohenjo-Daro seals has been described by the Vedas as रुद्रः पश्वनाम् अधिपतिः The same has also been described in other hymns of the Rigveda as *Brahmā*- by virtue of his possessing more faces and as *Mahisha* by virtue of his possessing buffalo's horns. When we come to later times, the God has been deprived of his horns but the bull which announced his glory has been made a never-failing associate. A visit to all Saivite shrines in India will prove this. The *penis erectum* stage of 'Rudra Paśupati God of Mohenjo-Daro continued through the ages and took shape as the regular *linga* standing for Siva or the anthropomorphic form of Siva superposed on the background of a *linga* such as we get in the *lingo* of Gudimallam of the second century B. C.

The rhinoceros is yet another interesting animal of the Indus Valley Culture in association with this Pasupati cult. We must remember that rhinoceros is special to India. In the same way are the elephant, the tiger and the humped bull noticed on the seals. The rhinoceros is obviously the Vedic *Varāha* or the *Yajna Varāha*, who is described as the arch-router. The Vedas say in regard to mother earth that she was routed or pulled up by the Varāha

उद्धृतासि वराहेण कृष्णेन शतबाहुना ।
भूमिर्धेनुर्धरणी लोकधारिणी ।

शतबाहु means 100 man-power, which can easily be attributed to the rhinoceros. The massive strength of the rhinoceros which lies in its snout and the conception of *Yajna-Varāha* as *Ekaśringī* suggests that it was the rhinceros (Rhinoceros unicornis—the rhino with a single horn on the tip of its snout) that was contemplated and not the wild boar or pig as later iconography has described and depicted, for the latter has only two side tusks from the gape of its jaws. The occurrence of the tiger on the Paśupati Seal is significant in that it is also an Indian animal not known to Sumer, Elam, Mesopotamia and other West Asian contemporary cultures. The elephant also occurs on the Mohenjo-Daro seals and it is a very popular animal in Indian Art through the ages. The Vedic hymns described the elephant as an *Ibha* standing to announce the glory of the King:

कृणुष्वपाजः प्रसितिं न पृथ्वीं याहि राजेवामवाँइभेन ।

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In the third century B. C. we find that Emperor Aśoka makes use of the elephant by carving its figure both at Kalsi and at Dhauli, in the former as defiant and in the latter as submissive to rhyme with the respective spirits of the places. At Dhauli the submissive mood of the elephant is because the King is lamenting the folly of his military expedition to Kaliṅga which resulted in bloodshed. At Kalsi the elephant is defiant with legs slightly raised and trunk twisted because the spirit is one of putting down animal sacrifices for which the area was celebrated, as ancient *Mashṇār* of the *Aitareya Brāhmaṇa*. Other interesting finds relating to Indus Valley Culture that have a bearing on Hindu ritual and iconography are the statuette of *Yajamāna* or the Performer of sacrifices like *Aśvamedha*, toy carts and perforated pottery jars. The *Yajamāna* figure which obviously related to a royal performer of horse sacrifices shows the king as shaven in the upper lip, wearing new cloth *yajnopavīta*-wise, decorated with circular gold discs (*nukma*), one on the head, another on the right hand and a third on the neck as prescribed in the ritual of Vedic sacrifices. The toy-cart discovered at Mohenjo-Daro is neither big enough to be a regular cart nor small enough to be a toy-cart. It is a medium size such as would be utilised for carrying *Soma* plants into the *Yajnaśālā* during the course of sacrifices.

It appears that the biomorphs, natural and fanciful, of the Rig-Vedic poets,-wherein we have to include representations combining human and bestial forms —are replicas of the zoomorphs of the Indus valley seal engravers, modellers and sculptors. Indus valley seal designs nd figurines appear to be embodiments of the fancies of the Rig-Vedic poets. The minds of the Rig-Vedic people and the Indus valley people appear to have thought out on the same lines, as much in accepting animals, birds and beings as they are in realistic study as in integrating them into *āveśas* or 'chimeras.' A pertinent example is the *Maho-deva* seal from Mohenjo-Daro described above. The Rig-Vedic *poet* and the Indus valley *artist* have fancied and fashioned alike. Comparison with the ancient West Asian treatments of biomorphs not only emphasises that the differnce between the West Asian (Egyptian and Mesopotamian) conceptions and the Indus valley and the Rig-Vedic are fundamental but also establishes that the similarity of the Indus valley and Rig-Vedic conceptions is close and consequently certain.

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We noticed the statuette of a dancing girl at Mohenjo-Daro. That dance was a mode of expression of joy and had been a note-worthy feature of Indian Art through the Ages and this gets crystalized in the conception of Śiva as Naṭarāja. The most outstanding example of Indian bronzes is that of Naṭarāja illustrating the process of the creation and dissolution of the world in terms of dance and rhythm. The Naṭarāja image is one of the greatest pieces of Indian Art, the perfect visual image of *Becoming*, and an adequate completment and contrast to the cross-legged *Mahāyogī*> *Rudra*>*Paśupati* type of Being. The movement of the dancing figure is so balanced that while it fills all space it seems nevertheless to be at rest. Kalidasa, the immortal poet, who gave us the standards of life mentions that dance was to the Devas an ocular sacrifice, to the Great God Rudra it meant the division of his body into two and the location of Goddess Umā in one half, and to the world of variety and diversity, it was the sole source of eternal delight. The Mohenjo-Daro dancing girl is secular in all respects but the bronze images of the later Periods are mostly inspired by religion. Between the proto-historic art of the Indus Valley and that of the Mauryans (4th century B.C.) there is a big gap awaiting to be filled by the actual remains of a material culture. A refined court art and archaic religious art came into being in the third century B. C. To the Guptas we owe a Golden Age of Indian art and the greatest creations of Indian art such as Naranārāyaṇa, Gajedramokhsaudha Śeshanārāyaṇa.

South India abounds in megalithic monuments and urn burials which form a distinct feature of its cultural heritage. Surface exploration in the District of Chingleput having been completed, excavation of a few typical sites in Chingleput District undertaken by Messers. V.D. Krishnaswami, K. R. Srinivasan, N. R. Banerjee K. V. Soundara Rajan and others at Sanur, Amirthamangalam and Kunnattur revealed interesting features in the construction of the megalithic tomb, the furnishing of the sepulchres and the modes of the disposal of the dead. The megalithic burial was a post-excarnated fragmentary and multiple burial. The grave goods included iron implements of offence and defence, objects of daily utility and ornaments,decorated shell ornaments, carnelian and terracotta beads besides the usual black and red pottery ware. Who the megalithic builders were, what their material culture is, to what period they do belong and whence they came are still problems awaiting solution. Though the dates of these burials are ascribed to circa 2nd century B.C. at Brahmagiri, it is

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quite possible they are of earlier origin and the recent results of excavation in the South afford ample evidence to their being ascribed to a much earlier date, say to 8th century B.C. Excavation of a few more sites might enlighten us in this regard.

Exploration along the Cauvery basin by Sri Ballabh Saran early this year brought to light several sites including an Indo-Roman trading centre at Nattamedu in South Arcot District and a number of urn-burials(with and without megalithic appendages).

A short exploration by Sri K. S. Ramachandran, in November 1956 along the Vaigai basin around Madurai brought to light a number of urn-burials without any apparent megalithic appendage and abandoned habitations. Notable among them are Palangunattam, a hamlet of Madakkulam near Madurai, Samanattam and Nattamedu near Dombucherry, Madurai District. At Samanattam and Dombucherry unmistakable black and red ware and megalithic black ware in association with painted black and red ware (and painted black ware at the former site) were discovered for the first time. The designs are poor imitations of the wavy lines of the Coimbatore megalithic wares and of the Andhra painted pottery unearthed at Chandravalli in Chitaldrug District, Mysore State in 1947. Since very near Nattamedu are to be found rude stone cairn circles and urnfields, we may in all probability be able to correlate the habitational sequence of Nattamedu with that of the prehistoric burials nearby and try to arrive at a sequence dating for the megalithic burials of Madurai District.

The preliminary exploration of *Aśvamedha* sites at Jagatgram (30 miles to the north west of Dehra Dun, Uttar Pradesh, and within a couple of miles from the rock-edicts of Asoka at Kalsi),where a king called Śilavarman, of the third century A. D., performed for the fourth time an *Aśvamedha* sacrifice, was noticed in 1953. Subsequent excavations here by the Exploration Branch of the Department exposed remains of three sites where the king performed *Aśvamedhas*. In addition to well-designed bricks in the orientation of the *Syena* hawk or eagle, with spread wings, bricks from the first site bore Sanskrit inscription in the Brāhmi script of the third century A.D. acquainting us with the information that the king left at the place the *Chiti* or the architectural remains of his fourth horse-sacrifice.

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The second site brought out a number of inscribed bricks containing verses in correct *Anushtubh* metre in the same language and script. The verses reveal the personality of the king as *Vārshanganya Yugeśvara* or *Yugeśa* and the lord of Yugaśaila. *Varshanganya* proclaims him as of *Vrishahgaṇa—Gotra*, which is the sixtyninth *Gotra* referred to by the grammarian Pāṇini.

The word *Yugeśa* means 'the lord of a *Lustrum*' and implies purification by sacrifice. The *Brihat-Samhita* refers to twelve such *Yugesaś* beginning with Vishnu and ending with Bhaga. It is therefore, interesting to note that by virtue of his performing the *Aśvamedhas* the king ranked himself with Vishnu and other *Yugeśas* as a fitting *Yugeśa* of this *Yuga*. Also, his performing the sacrifices at least four times brings out the comparison with the Greek or Roman *Lustrum*, which, as we know, was performed periodically (once in five years) for the purification of a nation or people. The term *Yugaśaila*, (Kalsi?) of which Śilāvarman is described as the king, was probably the name of his capital.

The third site, showed the relics of another horse-sacrifice, performed by the same king, in the shape of bricks arranged as a rhombus some of of which were again inscribed and bore his name.

The sites face the Himalayas and the river Yamunā in its first descent from the mountain. This circumstances perhaps inspired the name of the king's capital as Yugaśaila. The place seems to be the ancient Mashnar of the *Aitareya Brāhmaṇa*

The inscriptions on the bricks read as follows.

सिद्धं ओं युगेश्वरस्याश्वमेधे युगशैलमहीपतेः ।
इष्टका वार्षगण्यस्य नृपतेश्शीलवर्मणः ।।

'This brick is from (belongs to) the *Aśvamedha* of (performed by) Śīlavarman, king of Uugaśaila and *Yugeśvara* or lord of *Lustrum*,

नृपतेर्वार्षगण्यस्य पोणषष्ठस्य धीमतः ।
चतुर्त्थस्याश्वमेधस्य चित्योयं शीलवर्मणः ।।

'This is the altar of the fourth horse-sacrifice performed by king Śīlavarman, who was of Vṛishangaṇa-*Gotra* and was sixth in descent from Poṇa or of Poṇa (*Vamśa ?*).

The word *Poṇa-Shastha* may mean 'sixth in descent from Poṇa.' Poṇa being the first member of the *Vamśa*:—alternatively, it may mean the sixth

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Poṇa of the dynasty, five other earlier kings having borne the same name. Who this Poṇa was, if it is a proper name, or what this Poṇa dynasty was, if it refers to a dynasty, are problems requiring attention.

The palaeography of the inscriptions clearly points to a transition—stage in the career of the Brāhmī script, when both earlier and later forms of *ma* and associative *ya* occurred side by side. This would place Śilavarman as a post-Kushan and pre-Gupta king, i.e., between A.D. 250 and 300, and as one who gave, presumably in association with other dynasties, the death-blow to the Kushan power in north India.

Following the decision of undertaking an intensive and extensive programme of excavation of the famous Buddhist remains in the Nagarjunakonda valley, prior to its submergence under deep water as a result of an elaborate irrigation project excavation which commenced here in 1954-55 on large scale at different spots laid bare a few monasteries, *Stupas* and temples, one of which was a hill-edifice dedicated to the Buddhist mother-Goddess Hāriti.

The accelerated excavation here carried out in 1955-56 uncovered additional Buddhist establishments, together with a few significant inscriptions and other relics, and an elaborate flight of steps leading down to the river. Recent excavations have revealed important epigraphical data bearing on the history of the Ikshvākus and supplying four generations of the Ikshvāku Geneaology starting from Chāntamūla and their successor Bṛihatpalāyana Śrīvarmā. A new name of a warrior, Kulahaka Chāntamūla, is also furnised. Another inscription records the gifs of *Buddhapāda* made at *Dharaṇa Vihāra* by Mahāvihāravāsins—one of the sub-sects of the Ceylonese Theravāda Buddhism. An inscribed frieze dated in the 24th regnal year of Ehuvala Chāntamūla is completely in Sanskrit and is, therefore, very important from the point of view of fixing the date of the advent of Sanskrit as a State language in this part, while the inscription records the consecration of a stone image of Buddha by one Kumāranadī, the Chief of Chandakaparavata with whom his wife as well as his son Esvaranandi are associated. Besides local wares of utilitarian types and decorated storage jars, specimens of the de-luxe wares like the 'black and red,' the polished black and the polished red or buff sprinkler types of pottery and a few inscribed sherds have been available. These would cumulatively suggest a period of 3-4th centuries

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A. D. of antiquities, human and animal figurenes of terracotta material are by far the most prolific and of many varieties. Also were exposed monastic structures with variations within a standard monastic ground plan design, apparently for different ritualistic purposes, *chaitya* shrines with pillars laid in apsidal disposition and temples (as different from Buddhist shrines), in one of which was a sculptured slab of Shakti of Mahāsena (Skanda) revealing its significance and relationship with the Ikshavāku kings who were ardent devotees of Sri Mahāsenapati.

An important epigraphical discovery of 1953-54 was an inscription of Asoka on a rock at Rajula-Mandagiri in District Kurnool. It is a Minor Rock-edict of the Emperor, and its contents are almost identical with those of its counterpart at Yerragudi, 20 miles away in the same area. A Brahmi inscription found at Amaravati, District Guntur records the gift of a coping stone for the railing of the famous *Stupa* by a princes Sammali. A stone obviously forming part of the top-frieze of the exterior surface of the drum of the *Mahāchaitya* at Salihundam, District Srikakulam, bore the inscription *Dhamma-Rano Asoka-Sirino* in second century A.D. characters. The identity of this person is puzzling. In 1954-55, an outstanding discovery was made at Gujarra in Vindhya Pradesh. It is a version of the Minor Rock edict of Asoka, who is here mentioned by name as at Maski. Some pasages found here are not found in any other version of the Minor Rock-edict. Other new records are Kushan inscription from Mathura which narrows down the gulf between the hitherto-known dates of Huvishka and Vāsudeva to four years only and an inscription from Orissa which tells us that the Śailodbhava Mādhavavarman II performed an *Aśvamedha*. Of the important epigraphical discoveries in 1955-56, the most important was a damaged version of the Ninth Rock-edict to Asoka from Sopara, already known as the findspot of a fragment of the Eighth Rock-edict. Sopara contained, therefore, a complete set of the rock-edicts of Aśoka. Another was a record on a wooden ceilingrib of a cave at Bhaja which confirmed the date of the cave as the second Century B. C. New names introduced to history by some other inscriptions are Ārya-Viśākhamitra, a second-century ruler of East India and Śatrudamana, a fifth century chief of south-east India.

A survey of the archaeological material studied by the Indian Archaeological Delegation during its two month tour of Afghanistan in 1956 is

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mentioning here. An Indian Archaeological Delegation was fitted out by the Ministry of Education , Government of India for exploration work in Afghanistan. Its main object was to collect first hand knowdege of the archaeological wealth of Afghanistan. No excavation was contemplated and only a rapid reconnaissance of the antiquarian material of Afghanistan has made, particularly of such material as revealed ancient contacts of India with her north western neighbour. Its task was to visit the river-valleys of South Afghanistan and to study evidence of Hellenic contacts, specially with reference to coins, sculptures and other objects spread over the entire country and also collected in the Kabul Museum, Kandahar Museum, Herat, Mazarisharif and Kunduz Museums and private collections. Within the limits of these objects it carried out its assignment, remaining in Afghanistan for 2 months and making a thorough job in a difficult terrain. On indifferent roads it covered a distance of over 4000 miles. The Department of Archaeology has now information as to which areas are promising for detailed and systematic exploration particularly on sites which reveal close relation of India with her north western neighbour.

A systematic study of temple architecture with reference to evolution chronology and regional or dynastic styles was initiated in 1955 by the Depertment of Archaeology and is yielding fruitful results. Two officers, one each for north (Sri Krishna Deva) and south India (Sri K. R. Srinivasan) were appointed for the purpose. We shall be getting for the first time full descriptions of the various temples under study in accordance with the architectural terms used in the *Śilpa* texts of the different regions, living traditions of *sthapatis* and *śilpins* and inscription, as also an illustrated compilation of such important architectural terms with reference to the parts of the structures.

The survey of work described above would show an all round activity to unravel India's ancient past, thanks to team work and competitive zest in which Universities, Department of Archaeology, Research Societies and Institutions have taken part. It is a matter of joy to note that such an activity has also opened a vista of encouraging research in countries outside India, such as Afghanistan.

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ANCIENT DRAVIDIAN JAIN HERITAGE.

By

Shri D. G. Mahajan.

In order to know the great ancient contribution of the Jains to the cultural growth of the ancient Dravid Desh, the present Tamil Land and its people alike, one has to contemplate the vitalizing and uplifting force of the "*Śāsana*" or precept of the Lord Mahavir, which inspired generations of his followers in particular and every individual of the land in general in the south-ancient Dravid Desha, to mould the composite civilisation of the Tamil people in all their varied aspects of development which will be clear from the following lines.

1. *The Sangam Period from* 300 *B. C. to* 300. *A. D.*

The ancient Tamil literature of the Sangam age is replete with ample references to "*Amanpalli*" or rock caverns—(Akritim Chayatyalayas described in Jain literature) resorted to by the Jain Munis-ascetics-for meditation in particular. The non-Jain i.e. Vedic[1] literature too describes the Jain and Buddhists as those who are not the followers of the Vedas; and even Tamil epic[2] gives a fair perspective of the Jain Religion and its doctrines. The teachers of this age have shown great eagerness to convert others or to establish the superiority of the doctrines of their faith. This period was one of the most peaceful penetration of Jain teachers already proficient in Prakrit and Sanskrit, learned also Tamil and enriched it with their thought and diction borrowed from Sanskrit and Prakrit, Ardhamāgadhi and Apabhrans, all the north Indian dialects.

2. The natural caverns—"*Akritim Chayatyalayas*" on the slopes of the hills, which were their resorts, grew into colonies inhabited both by Munis-monks and laymen-Śrāvakās, their followers. They have polished floors and drip-lines on the overhanging rocks, which formed the roof, so that to drain of the rain water. Such sort of ancient haunts of the Jains could be very easily seen even today practically

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all over the hilly parts f the Tamil Land, and mention must be made of "*Sittannavasal-Sidhdhanivasam*"[3]; Tenimalai-the Narthamalai group of hills, with Kudumimalai and Paralimalai in the old Pudukkottai State in Madras Province; which has been situated in the very heart of the Tamil Country, marked for many centuries the boundary between the Chola and Pandya kingdoms.

Similarly Tirumalai, Vallimalai and Pancha Pandav-Malai in the North Arcot District[4], the Ginjee Hills in the South Arcot District; the Tayumanavar hill in Trichinopolly Dist; Aivarmalai, Poygimalai and Alagarmalai and recently discovered Samanar Malai, in Madura District Many of these natural caverns "*Akritim Chayatyalayas*"contain most important and historical anceint inscriptions in Brahmi script of the 3rd to 2nd B. C.[5] which beyond doubt prove the great antiquity of these resorts. Inside many of them or on the adjoining rocks are Jain sculptures in bas-relief, that of the Jain Tirthankaras, Munis, Śhasan Devatās, etc. That these Bastis-Vastis on the hills continued to be occupied in the medieval times too, is proved by the presence of Tamil inscriptions ranging from 3rd to 13th centuries. The great antiquity of these bastis the inscriptions in which on palaeographci grounds, could be traced to the second or even third century before Christ, lends great support to the Digambar jains' traditions of the penetration into the far most South of India of the large number of followers of the great Jain Āchārya BHADRA BĀHU, the last-Antim-Srutakewali of the Jain religion[6].

3. That the period from 300 A. D. to 700 A. D. may be called "the age of the Jain Sanghas" was characterised by a great zealous and militant propagation of the faith Jainism; for which main seat was ancient "*Pāṭaliputra*"[7] the modern Tiruppāpuliyur-Thirupādaripuliyur in the South Arcot district (which was specially visited and made full investigation of the site, as referred to in the special paper read and accepted and published in the annual proceedings of the session of The Oriental Conference at its Lucknow session, by the writer) was the most important seat of a most renowned monastary, which could be traced as far back as the 3rd century A.D. which was adorned by the great Jaina Āchārya Samantabhadra[8]. This very monastary was also adorned by many others afterwards, such as

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Āchārya Sinhanandi or Sarvanandi in the 5th century, by Āchārya Dharmasen, who later converted himself into the Saivite sect and who was canonized as Saint Appar, was also attached to this monastary, when he was the follower of the Jain religion in which he was born.

It is also the fact that Vajranandi Āchārya[9] a pupil of the great Jain Āchārya Pujjyapād, founded in 470 A.D. the great Jain Sangha of Madura, the seat of the Tamil Sangha also. Like the Tamil Sangha, the Jain Sangha served also as a great academy of letters and arts. The ancient Kānchanpuram, , the present Canjeeveram was another equally vital centre of the Jain culture. The early Ganga and Pallava rulers were very staunch Jains and as such, under their royal patronage the cult very easily established its primacy and supremacy in South Indian religious thoughts and life of the people in general. Even a Pāndyan monarch of Madura, who was the traditional protector of Saivism, of which Madura was a centre, embraced the Jain religion and its cult.

4. Again the period from 700 A.D. to 1250 A.D., was the period of the great controversies. The Bhakti movement of the earlier Śaiva andVaishṇava saints, supported by the Royal powers, attracted the people and own their devotion. The Alvāras[10] and the Nayanamārs[11] who were Hindu revivalist, went about the country engaging their Jain and Buddha adversaries in the field of religious disputation. The Buddhist cult, which was forced to confine itself to the coastal districts any how probably to maintain the continutiy of the relations of the north of India with Lanka, the present Ceylon-Simhala Dwīpa[12] of the ancient times, which was a Buddhist stronghold, soon got worsted in this conflict; but proudly and boldly Jainism persisted till today.

Kānchipuram-Kānchi witnessed many such great debates from the days of the great Āchārya Sāmantabhadra, in the 3rd century A. D. Another Jain Āchārya euqally great Akalank, who lived and flourished in the 8th century A. D. had the greatest wide reputation of having vanquished the Buddhists at Kānchi, and it was he who made the great reinforcement of Jainism in the far South by the establishment of more settlements at

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Madura and Anaimalai alias Samanar Malai,[13] not far away from the city of Madura.

That the great contemporary of his was Jain ĀchāryaVimalachandra, who belonged to the Sravanbelgolā in Mysore State congregation, visited the court of Shatrubhayankar identified with Suvaran Maran, also called Perumbidugu Muttarayar, who as a vassal of the Pallavas, ruled over the parts of the modern Tanjore and Trichinopolly districts and the Pudukkottai old State-the ancient Thondāimandalam[14] where he challenged the Śaivas, Pāśupatās Buddhists, Kāpālikas and Kāpālis. The most prominent Jain Acharyas were Sandusen. Indusen and Kananknandi whom the Saivite Saint Nyana-Sambandhar engaged in controversy during his visit to the court of the Pāndya King at Madura which has been recorded in the inscription of the period and speaks of "*Kurandai Astopawashi*"[15] and his disciples; while those in the Pudukkottai old State of Malayadhavaja, Dharmadev[16] Āchārya and his preceptor Kanakachandra or sen and Achary Matisagar, who attained much celebrity in the 10th century A.D.

This period witnessed the expansion of the monasteries, which became centres of learning; and Tamil inscriptions[17] and contemporary literary works are full of references to pallis-the term used in Tamil for only Jain monastic establishments. Most prominent among the Pallis were those at Tirumalai; Tiruppannamalai, Rajendrapuram, Villappakkam in North Arcot Dist. Tirunarungondai and Srimur in South Arcot District; Ānandamangalam (Chingalpeth Dist.) Sendalai, Maruttavakudi (Tanjore dist.) Tirumalwadi in Trichinopolly Dist; Tirupperuttikunram known as Jain Kanchi-just near the present Kanjeeweram, had a very large "*Samudāyam*" or congregation called "*Rāsisamudayam*".

Similarly "*Perumpallies*"or large monasteries were at Narttamalai, Annavasal, Settippatti, Sembatur and Mosakudi, in the old Pudukkottai State. These monasteries received endowments from time to time and from the Chola Emperor Parkeshari Parantak I (907-953 A.D.) practically upto the middle of the 13th century or so. Some of them were called after the names of the Chola Emperors or princes, who made grants of villages for their maintenance. A

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palli at Tiruvennyail-modern Settipatti in the old Pudukkottai State was called "*Ainnurruva Perumpalli*" and was built in the late Pallav times and endowed in the reign of Raj Raj Chola I by a merchant belonging to the famous South Indian Merchant and Trade guild of the "*Ainnurruvar*" or the "Five Hundred."

That the religious controversies of the first few centuries of this period and conversions of the Jain Kings with his subject or Saiva and Vaisnava faiths most seriously effected the hold that this religion-Jainism had on the masses in general. In addition to this, the Chola Emperors, the Pandya kings of Second Empire and the later Hoysal Kings from Bittig. Visnuvardhan, who left the Jain faith to embrace the Vaishnava cult, were all in zealous patronage to Saiva and Vaishnava faiths, did every thing possible for them to crush their old religion Jainism at their right and might; such as temples to Siva and Vishnu were set up in hundreds, which were the originally the Jain associations of their old religion, in fact there was not a single village without a temple converted to Śiva and Vishṇu and monasteries richly endowed and largely patronised by munificent royal grants were attached to those temples. Hence it was inevitable that Jain institutions should dwindle from sheer inanition. Not only this but am ple stories locally of the Saivite and Vaisnavite horrible persecution resulting in the extirpation of the Jains and Buddhists institutions on the Tamil country, which can be proved by numerous evidence in its favour on ample records in general are known; the paintings on the walls of the temple at Madura of the Minaxi Sundaram in particular; though there is numerous records maintaining grants to Jain monasteries and hundreds of inscriptions that prove how sacred and irrevocable people considered the grants to Jain monasteries so that when they registered sales and gifts of villages to Hindu temples or private individuals, they invariably made a distinct provision excluding from the operation of such sale or transfer-Pallikkandam" lands or lands in the enjoyment of Jain monasteries, the boundaries of which were marked off by stones bearing "*Trichatram*" emblem called "*Mukkudaikkal*" (or stone with three umbrellas.) in Tamil.

5. As regards the Jain Art of the Jain Temples in the Tamil land-the ancient Thondāimandalam—the most of the Jain temples are

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for the present under ruins, reproduce the successive stages in the evolution of the South Indian temples. There are almost all the rock-cut caves and natural cavern temples of the Pallav and early Chola structural temples built in stones from basement to final and the later structures with Mandapam, cloistered halls, etc. It may safely be said that in the architecture the Jain artists view with their contemporary other confreres in evolving graceful pattern and charming motifs of wall and pillar decoration, quite independent in view of the Jain religious importance and motives, which proves the fundamental differences between any two religious associations and institutions. It is most unfortunate that many of them are now in ruins.

It can be safely proved that the only small area of roughly not more than 1000-1200 sq. miles in only a small Pudukkottai State[19] there are more than 50 Jain monuments including ruins of temples and sculptures, which help one to make a comprehensive study of Jain iconography. It is a matter of great pride for the Jains that enlighten Government of the old Pudukkottai State have conserved these ancient monuments and saved them from further decay. There are hundreds of other monuments in the South India that are fast decaying and ere long will be lost in oblivion.

6. The most important factor is that of frescos in Jain cave temple named "*Sittannavāsal Siddhanivāsam*" in Pudukottatai old state, which present the lotus tank in which "*Bhavyās*" bathe and sport before going to the "*Samavasharan Mandap*" are a reproduction in the South, of the aesthetic beauty of the calssical fresco at Ajanta in India and Segariya in Lanka-Celyon. These paintings, which are the earliest Jain paintings known in south India, are now attracting the attention of art lovers, historians and Scholars all over the world. Similarly there are also paintings of a later period in Tirumalai in North Arcot Dist. and Tirupparuttikkunram- Jain Kanchi temples.

7. Thus it is proved to the entire satisfaction that for not less than fifteen centuries, the Jains formed an integrated part of the entire Tamil Society-though today they constitute a minor community living in a few towns and villages. For fifteen centuries or even more than that their ethical ideals of "*Ahimsā*" and spiritual goal of con-

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quest of "*Samsār*" inspired and dominated like any thing the Tamilians way of life. Had the Saint Dharmasen, who was by birth a Jain and even in his early life too, but later the Saivite Appar, not given the crushing blow to its original Jain religion by his own convertion, the Jain formula of "*Dayāmula - Dhamam*" or Dharma that has its root in compassion and Jain ideals were so subtly woven into the texture of the religio-cultural life of the people of the Tamil country. The Jains contributed vastly to the National Life of the Tamil, was many sided, say they enriched the Art, Language and Thought of the people of the Land and moulded their way of entire life, life of the Tamil Nad, in ancient Dravid Desha.

8. Lastly I may say that it would be most unscrupulous if few words are not mentioned about the most important point relating to the vast Tamil literature. Amongst the most earliest Tamil works is the famous Thiru-*valluvar's Kurala* [20] by the great Jain *Ā*chārya Kundakunda, from whom every Jain and non-Jain writer of the land got aspiration to enrich the literature from time to time. In the whole group of the Tamil literature, more than the half number goes to the credit of the Jain authors; and as such Jain works[21] inculcate a lofty conduct of life unsurpassed in any work or Ethics and other. There is a comprehensive composition of Tamil grammar[22], most popular Tamil lexicons,[23] the treatise on the orthographs and parts of speech of Tamil languages; work on prosody[24] are unique works on Tamil metre[25]. There is also synthesis between the Tamil and Sanskrit systems of grammar and rhetoric.[26] Apart from these there are many Mahakavyas at the credit of the Jain authors which are the greatest masterpieces of literature, which have served as a Model for their poets including the celebrated Kamban. These Kavyas possess high literary excellence. In short it may be said very boldly and frankly that if Jain authors' works on each and every subject both Jain and Non-Jain, are excluded from the Tamil literature[27] there will be practically no Tamil literature as such, such is the most vital part has been played by the Jains in all the aspects and every walk of life of the people of the Tamil land in the ancient Dravid Desha, which will be most unscrupulous on the part of the Historians and Scholars

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to forget the Jain rich heritage of the Tamil Land of the great Jain and non-Jain Acharyas who were the greatest revivals of the faith proved at the cost of their dear life, simply for the people of their motherland Tamil and nothing but Tamil the heart of the ancient Dravid Desha not worthy to be forgotten here after for ever.

Notes:—Some of the most important references are given below, which are referred to in the serial numbers in the main article:—

1. "*Ahananuru*" an old anthology of poems-manuscript in Tamil.
2. "*Manimekalai*" a famous Tamil manuscript.
3. "*A Manual of pudukkottai Stat*" Volume II, part II P. 1092.
4. "District Gazetteer of the North Arcot Dist. Madras State.
5. (a) "*Ancient India*" Vol No. IV. by Dr. T. L. Shah,
   (b) Epigraphica India Vol No. 6 and Vol No. 331
6. "*Inscriptions at Sravanabelgola-Mysore State*" by Levis Rise preface to *Karnatak Shabdanusasan*" and "*Patavali*" published in Bhandarkar oriental report 1883-84 page.
7. (a) Sravanbelgola Inscription No. 54 old and 67 new, It is also called "Mallisen Prasasti" which was written in 1050, sak samvat. i. e. 1100. A. D.
   (b) Mr. Levis Rise in his "Inscriptions at Sravanbelgola"
   (c) Studies in South Indian Jainism page No. 30.
   (d) Prop: A. F. Rudolf Haernle-Indian Antiquity Bol. XXI. There father pattavalies of Digambars, Page 60.
   (e) Tamil Periyapuranam, Sthalapuranam, Thevaram Rhiems.
   (f) Tamil "Patalipur-Puranam" manuscript No. 1136/5.
   (g) "Puliyur Puranam" in Sanskrit.
   (h) "Parijatakachal Mahatma" mass No. 11303.
   (I) "Kanchi Puranam" with all manuscripts from the Maha Raja Sarafoji Saraswati Mahal Library at Tanjore. S. India.
   (j) "Tamil work "Thirupadaripuliyur-Kalambakam" a work verified structive directory by Shri Tukapiar Tewar.
   (k) "Tamil Periyapuranam" part II page 52 under the heading "Tirupuliyur" and Tirupuriyurattam" or "Tiriviuttam" from Tanjore Maharaja Library as above.
8. "Swami Samantabhadra" a publication in Hindi by Pandit Jugal Kishor Mukhatiyar Jain.

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9. "Lokavibhag" completed in A. D. 485.
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11. Canonized Saivite Saints.
12. Mr. Willhelm Geigor ph. D. "The Mahavamsa"
(b) Mansara ach, 55 of Gopinatharao, Travamkore, 11. pp. 118.
(c) Dipavansa & Mahavansa & their Historical Development.
(d) Religions of the world by Carl. Cleman.
(e) The Origin and Evolution of Religion by Albert chuchwool.
(f) Chulavansa by Mr. Willhem Geiger.
(g) Buddha and his Gospel of Buddhism by Anand Coomar Swami.
(h) Epigraphia Ceyloca and Memois of Archaelogical Department, Ceylon Government.
(I) Sacred Books of the East, by Max Muller.
13. "*Samanarmalai Inscription*" by Shri M. Venkatramayya, Epigraphical Assistant, Cotakmand, published in the volume of "Samanar Malai"—The Jain Hill, by Shri T. S. Sripal, Madas.
14. The Manual of the Pudukkottai State, Gazetteer, by Shri. K. R. Venkatrama Ayyar. B. A.,
15. "Samanarmalai Inscription" referred to under No. 13.
16. The Manual of the Pudukkottai State, referred to under No. 14 above.
17. The Inscription in Pudukkottai State, by Shri K. R. Shrinivasa Curator, Pudukkottai State.
18. The Manual of Pudukkottai State by Shri K. R. Venkatram Ayyar.
19. The above referred to in No. 18.
20. The TIRUKKURAL" with English Translation and Commentary and an Introduction, by Rao Bahadur A. Chakravarti, M. A., I. E. S.
21. "Naldiyar" "Palmoli" and Asarakkovai" Tamil works.
22. "Nannul" by Pavanandi alias Bhavanandi Jain Acharya.
23. "Neminadam" of Shri Gunavir Pandit a Jain Author.
24. "Pingalandai" and "Chudamani" by Jain Authors.
25. "Yapparangulam" by Acharya Amitsagar with its Karika.

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26. "Vaccanandimala" by Gunavir Pandit a Jain author. (b) "Virsolium" a famous Tamil Jain work.
27. "Silappadikaram" by Ilanga and "Sivakasindamani" by Thiruttakkadevar a Jain Author.
28. "Nilkeshi" and "Sulamani" and many others by Jains.

A NOTE ON THE INTERPRETATION OF THE DEVĪ-CHANDRAGUPTA

By

Dr. C. C. Das Gupta

The object of this note is to suggest a new interpretation of the fragmentary drama, Devī Chandragupta not done by any scholar before. It would be necessary to give a brief resume of the subject-matter in order to put the particular matter on discussion. The following is the brief account of the subject-matter contained in it. It is said in it that after the death of Samudragupta his son Rāmagupta succeeded to the throne left vacant by the death of his father Samudragupta. His wife's name was Dhruvadevī. One Śaka prince wanted to marry the wife of Rāmagupta. He was cowardly in nature and so agreed to this proposal; but when his brother Chandragupta had heard this news, he objected to this arrangement and proposed to kill the Śaka prince in disguise of Dhruvadevī. He went to the palace of the Śaka prince in disguise of Dhruvadevī, and killed the Śaka prince. On return to the capital he also killed his brother Rāmagupta and married his widow Dhruvadevī.

Such is, in short, the brief account of the story as given in the drama, Devī Chandragupta. One thing which seems to be rather extremely unusual is the conduct of the Śaka prince. Though he was of royal descent, he did not consider beneath his dignity to ask the hand of one prince's wife. In the whole course of political history of ancient India before this time we do not find any such example of a prince asking the hand of the wife of a prince, whether of Indian

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or foreign origin. So there is no doubt that the desire of this prince seems to be rather extremely unusual, viewed from any point of view.

It would be now necessary to account for this unnaturalness on the part of the Śaka prince. In the drama, Devī Chandragupta as well as in the later records the Śaka prince is called a rogue.

All historians have fully supported the view as given in the Devī Chandragupta and have called the Śaka prince a rogue "who is bent on having the wife of somebody else;" but there is one expression in an inscription of the Gupta period which throws interesting light on this point and which has not been taken into consideration by any historian. The inscription which is meant here is the Allahabad Stone Pillar Inscription of Samudragupta. In this famous inscription there is the detailed and scientific description of Samudragupta's exact relation with the different groups of rulers and peoples in the different parts of India as well as outside India. Here is an expression which is taken into consideration. The expression is *daivaputrasāhisāhānusāhi-śaka muruṇḍaih Saimhalakādibhiścha sarva-dvīpavāsibhirātamanivedana - kanyopāyanadāna - garutmaduṅka- svavishaya-bhuktiśāsana y [ā] chanādyupāya sevā-kṛta-vāhu-vīrya-prasara-dharaṇi-vandhasya.*[1] This has been translated by Fleet as follows :—"Whose arm was affected by the acts of respectful...., such as offering themselves as sacrifices, bringing presents of maidens, (giving) Garuḍa-tokens, (surrendering) the enjoyment of their own territories, soliciting (his) commands, etc., (rendered) by the Daivaputras, shāhis, shāhānushāhis, Śakas and Muruṇḍas, and by the people of Simhala, and all (other) dwellers in islands." [2]

The term which requires special attention is the term *Śaka-muruṇḍaih*. Regarding this term Konow has given a very learned interpretation. He observes, "In the Allahabad posthumous stone pillar inscription of Samudragupta we read in l.23 of certain successes achieved by the Gupta emperor in connection with Daivaputra-sāhi sāhānusāhi-Śaka-muruṇḍaih Saimhalakādibhiścha, where Śaka-muruṇḍaih is evidently a designation of a similar kind as Daivaputra-sāhi and sāhānusāhi. Now *muruṇḍa* is almost certainly a Śaka word meaning 'master', 'lord'. It seems to occur in the form *muroḍa*, i.e., muroṇḍa, as a title of king Kanishka in the Zeda inscription; it is

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found in the compound *hora-murṇḍaga* in certain Brāhmī inscriptions from Mathura, and Professor Lūders has further compared the word *horamurta* of the Manikiala inscription, explaining *hora* as the well-known Śaka word for 'gift, donation,' and hora-murṇḍaga as corresponding to Sanskrit danapati, so that muruṇḍa must mean ,master' lord.' Professor Levi has further shown that muruṇḍa is well-known from Indian literature and occurs, in the form mao-lun, as a title of Indian rulers in Chinese sources. I have therefore identified Śaka-muruṇḍa with the Chinese Sai-wang, Śaka lord, where *wang* is simply a Chinese translation of the Śaka word muruṇḍa just as the same word was translated into Indian as svāmin in the titulature of the Indian Śaka dynasty known as that of the Western Kshtrapas.

There was accordingly a Śaka tribe known as the Śaka-muruṇḍas, evidently because their chiefs were styled muruṇḍas, while other Śaka tribes used other titles, a state of affairs which is well attested. In the Śaka text from the Khotan country we find royal titles such as rre and shashau; in the Jain text Kālakāchāryakathānaka the chiefs are sāhis and their overlord sāhāṇusāhi, a title which recurs in the Śāhānuśāhi of the Allahabad prasasti; and the Kushāṇa dynasty of Kanishka uses in coin-legends the title shaonano shao, i.e, shaunanu shau.

A designation such as Śaka-muruṇḍa, Sai-wang is therefore quite natural."[3]

Though Fleet has translated the expression kanyopayana-dana as "bringing presents of maidens," there is no doubt that it means that maidens were presented to Samudragupta in the form of marriage. If the girls were presented for other purposes, then Harishena, the composer of the Allahabad Stone Pillar Inscription would not have certainly mentioned it. Therefore there is no doubt that these maidens were presented to Samudragupta in the form of marriage. Therefore there is no doubt that these Śaka princes were related to Samudragupta by the matrimonial alliance.

This example of the matrimonial alliance is not a new one, though it may appear to be rather strange and peculiar. The most ancient example of this kind of matrimonial alliance is that between Chandragupta, the founder of the Maurya dynasty and Seleucus Nikator,

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Regarding this point Thomas has observed, "The great military progress of Seleucus, whereby he sought to cosolidate the eastern part of his dominions, brought him to the Indus about the year 305. He found Chandragupta, now master of all Hindusthan, awaiting him with an immense army. For Seleucus the task proved too great; he crossed the Indus, but either no battle ensued, or an indecisive one. Seleucus was content to secure a safe retirement and a gift of 500 elephants by the surrender of all the Greek dominions as far as the the Kabul valley. Upon these terms a matrimonial alliance was arranged."[4]

In the next period of ancient Indian history we find the matrimonial alliance between the Sātavahanas and the Western Kshatrapa rulers. One Kanheri epigraph describes Vasishthiputra Śri Satakarṇi as the husband of a daughter of the Mahākshtrapa Ru (dra). Rapson identifies this Rudra with Rudradāman I.[5]

According to the Junagadh inscription Rudrādaman attended several svayambaras and won the hands of a number of princesses. This matrimonial alliance of the Kārddamakas points to the gradual absorption of the Scythians into Indian society.[6]

This account, therefore, shows that the marriage-bond between the Indian and the foreign families was current in India from the time of Chandragupta, the founder of the Maurya empire.

So there is no doubt that the Śaka princes were related to Samudra gupta by the matrimonial bond. Therefore there is no doubt that Rāmagupta, son of Samudragupta is also related to the Śaka princes. In any case it can not be denied that the Śaka princes are in the family-circle of Rāmagupta.

It now remains to be seen whether the word Śaka-*muruṇḍaiḥ* means one Saka prince or more than one. It is very difficult to say finally any thing about this point. So far as this point is concerned, we get evidence from inscriptions as well as coins. There is not only the mention of the *Śaka-muruṇḍaiḥ* in the Allahabad Pillar Inscription but also a veiled reference to the conquest of Mālava which was under the Śaka suzerainty in the Udyagiri Cave-inscription no. 2 of ChandraguptaII[7] during the reign of the same monarch. Also the silver coins of Chandragupta II for Western India after the mode

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of the WesternKshtrapa ruler Rudrasimtra III show that he defeated the said Western Kshtrapa ruler.[8] There is practically no doubt that the evidence given by this inscription of Chandragupta II as well as the silver-currency of Chandragupta II relate to one incident, i.e., the conquest of Malva and Surashtra from the Western Kshtrapal family.

The mention of the *Śaka-muruṇḍaih* along with the expression *Daiva-putra-shāhi-shāhānushāhi* most probably indicates that the *Śaka-muruṇḍaih* are to be placed along with the *Daiva-putra-shāhi-shāhanushāhi*, i.e., somewhere in north, western India. Regarding the place where the assassination took place we find a passage in some manuscripts of the Harsha-Charita which runs thus:—*aripure cha para-kalatra-kāmukam kāminī-veshaguptaaś=cha Chandraguptah śaka-patim=śālayāt*. Some scholars have taken *aripure* as meaning the city of enemy; but in some manuscripts of the Harsha-charita instead of the reading *aripure* there is the reading of Alipure and Nalinipure. Accoring to the celebrated Chinese pilgrim Hieun-Tsang this Nalinipura was the city called Teng-Kuang within the Kuluta-janapada. According to the view of Cunningham this Kuluta-Janapada is situated in the Punjab in North-Westren India.[9] Regarding this point Mirashi has observed, "This Alipura must have been situated somewhere in or near the ancient country of Kuluta. It is also possible that the real name of the capital was Nalinapura, as stated in a Ms. of the Harsha-Charita. The identification of Nalinapura with Hieun Tsang's Teng-Kuang is, therefore, supported by the passage in the Kāvya-mimāmsā as well....As Watters has pointed out, one name for the city was Padmapura (lotus city) which is only a synonym of Nalinapura." It may, therefore, be concluded that the expression Śaka muruṇḍaih means the Śaka rulers of North Western India and has got no connection with the Śaka Kshtrapas of Western India. It follows that there was the matrimonial alliance between Samudragupta on one hand and the Śaka prince of North Western India. It further appears that the Śaka prince referred to in the Devī-Chandragupta was also a prince of North-Western India. It, therefore, seems that this Śaka prince mentioned in the Devi - Chandragupta belongs to the Śaka family which have been

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referred to in the Allahabad Pillar Inscription and which entered into a matrimonial alliance with Samudragupta.

It, therefore, appears that the Śaka prince mentioned in the Devi-Chandragupta was in the family-circle of the Gupta dynasty and, as such was known to the family of Dhruvadevi. It may, therefore, be postulated that there might have been a marriage-proposal between this Śaka-prince and Dhruvadevi who was married to Rāmagupta, the son and successor of Samudragupta. This is probably the reason of the Śaka prince asking the hand of the married lady, Dhruvadevi; otherwise we can not explain the unprincely behaviour of the Śaka prince. Another previous suitor might have been Chandragupta II. For this reason we find the conflict between the Śaka prince, Rāmagupta and Chandragupta II for the possession of Dhruvadevi.

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1 Gupta Inscriptions. By J.F. Fleet, p. 8, 1888.
2 Ibid, p. 17, 1888.
3 Kharosṭhī Inscriptions. By Sten Know, p. xx, 1929.
4 Cambridge History of India, vol. I, p. 472, 1935.
5 Political History of Ancient India. By Dr. H. C. Roy Chaudhury, 5th edition, p. 496.
6 Age of Imperial Unity. Edited by Dr. R. C. Majumdar, p. 185, 1950.
7 Gupta Inscriptions. By J. F. Fleet, pp. 34-36, 1888.
8 Catalogue of the coins of the Andhra Dynasty, the Western Kshatrapas, the Traikutaka Dynasty and the Bodhi Dynasty. By E. J. Rapson, pp. cxlix-cliii, 1908.
9 Cunningham's Ancient Geography of India. Edited by S.N. Mazumdar Sastri, pp. 162-63, 1924.

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THE GOLD CONTENT OF GUPTA COINS

By

Shri Sachindra Kumar Maity

The gold content of Gupta coins has so far been investigated only by Sir A. Cunningham and Dr. B. P. Sinha. In comparing their results, we found some serious discripancies. So we thought it advisable to study the gold content of all the coins of Chandragupta I and Samudragupta in the British Museum; and for comparative study we have also weighed eight Archer-type coins of Chandragupta II and nine Archer-type of his son Kumāragupta I, and eleven coins of the late Kusana king, Vāsudeva.

From the point of view of pure gold content we may group our coins in five categories :—

(i) Vāsudeva coins..... .....118 grains

(ii) The Chandragupta-Kumāradevī coins.... 109 grains

(iii) The Archer, Tiger and Lyrist coins of Samudragupta .....104-5 grains

(iv) The Standard, Battle-axe, Kāca, and Aśvamedha coins of Samudragupta and Archer coins of Chandragupta II, ...98-99 grains

(v) The Archer coin of Kumāragupta I..... ..... 92 grains. It can be tentatively suggested that they were issued in the same chronological order on the principle of Gresham's Law. This points to the fact that the "Chandragupta-Kumāradevī" coins, as Altekar believes, were issued by Chandragupta I himself and not by Samudragupta. Moreover, the "Kāca" coins, if issued by Samudragupta at all, were issued, like his Aśvamedha coins, towards the end of his reign, when his power was at its highest. This makes it less probable that they are his, for it on the face of it unlikely that he would give up his throne-name and revert to a popular name when at the height of his power. It can thus be conjectured that the Kaca coins were not issued by Samudragupta, but by a usurper.

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CANDELLA DHANGA AND THE MUSLIM INVASIONS OF HIS TIME.

By

Shri Sisir Kumar Mitra.

Dhaṅga came to the Candella throne, succeeding his father, Yaśovarman, sometime before V. S. 1011 (953-54 A.D.). Yaśovarman laid the foundations of the greatness of the family, and Dhaṅga ably and steadfastly followed the footsteps of his father, and by his own achievements established the claim of the Candellas to be ranked among the leading contemporary powers of North India. It appears from V. 45 of the Khajurāho Record[1], which for the first time demarcates the limits of the Candella kingdom, that it included the two strategic fortresses of the North, viz., Kālaṅjara and Gwālior. It may not be an exaggeration to say that Dhaṅga usurped to some extent the glory of the Imperial Pratihāras, who were then a decadent power.

A fragmentary inscription discovered at Mahobā throws an interesting light on the achievements of Dhaṅga. Verse 17 of the record reads as follows:—

"Nirmmitavairibhaṅgah Śri Dhaṅgah ityavani-maṅgalamāvirāsīt/
Sāreṇa yah svabhujayor-bhuvanātibhāram Hamvīram-apyati-
balam tulayam cakāra//"

"Dhaṅga, who caused destruction of his enemies, and who, by the strength of his arms equalled even the powerful Hamvīra, who had proved a heavy burden for the earth."[2]

The term 'Hamvīra is generally taken by scholars to be derived from the Arabic word, 'Amir', meaning 'Commander'. Later it came to acquire the use as a title for a Muhammadan prince. The word Hamvīra has variants like Hammira, and Hamira. But the stray reference in the abovementioned Mahoba record does not enable us to identify accurately the particular Muslim prince mentioned therein. It is, however, generally held that as the Yamini Sultans themselves used the honorific 'Amir', Hamvīra must refer either to

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Sabuktigin or his illustrious son, Mahmud of Ghazna. Hultzsch identifies Hamvīra or the Mahoba Record with Sabuktigin.[3] Mahmud, it is well known, played the most significant role in almost all the major expeditions of the Yaminis on Indian territories. Even during the lifetime of Sabuktigin, Mahmud was associated with his father in the latter's invasion on India. It is recorded in the Tabakat i-Akbari[4] that Amir Mahmmad, the son of Amir Nasir-uddin showed much courage and great heroism in the battle against Jayapāla, and it was practically Mahmud's strategy that compelled Jayapāla to sue for peace on payment of some 50 elephants and much treasure. Then again, on ascending the throne of Ghazna in A.D. 999, Mahmud took a vow of taking out a 'holy' expedition to India every year[5], and this vow was not an empty boast. His iconoclastic zeal became almost a nightmare to the Indian princes, which has been very aptly expressed in the Mahoba record by the term 'bhuvanāti-bharam,'—his weight appeared unbearable to the Mother Earth. So to equate Dhaṅga with Hamvīra (Mahmud) in prowess and military achievements must have appeared to the praśastikara as deserving of the highest reward.

But the question arises, why should the *praśastikāra* be so modest as to equate his hero (*tulāyam cakāra*) with another and not claim to have surpassed him, √*tul* has the use of expression of 'treating with contempt', as has already been shown, in a verse in the Khajuraho Record of V. S. 1011.[6] But the circumstances do not permit us to draw that meaning here. The available sources do not indicate that there was any direct fight between the Candella ruler and Sultan Mahmud. That Dhanga was not defeated nor his kingdom was invaded by Mahmud might have been construed by a later court-poet in taking pride that the predecessor of his master was an equal to the Sultan. A study of the political condition of the time (towards the end of the 10th cent. A.D.) reveals that Jayapāla, the Sahi ruler of the Punjab, anticipating the magnitude of the impact of the impending Turki invasion under Sabuktigin organised a very strong army. The Muslim sources are almost unanimous about the fact that Jayapala put into the field no less than 1,00,000 cavalry, many elephants and an innummerable host of foot. Utbi records that the Hindu

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army appeared like the boundless ocean and in numbers like the ants and locusts of the wilderness.[7] Dr. Nazim rather inappropriately refers to the formation of a league of the Hindu Rajas,[8] of which we have no direct evidence. It cannot be denied however that Jayapala made a supreme effort to protect his kingdom. But it is highly doubtful as to whether it was possible for him to arouse a feeling of national danger among the North Indian rulers and galvanise them into a confederacy.

Nizamuddin[9] and Firishta[10] make only a veiled reference to the assistance in the shape of men and money received by the Sahi ruler from the different Indian states, a list of whom, viz., Delhi, Ajmer, Kalinjar and Kanauj, has been furnished by Firishta only. The latter source, being a much later work, is always susceptible to minor inaccuracies here and there. But there is no doubt about the fact that the Raja of Kalinjar referred to herein was Dhanga of the Candella dynasty, who among with the ruler of Kanauj of the Pratihara family, might have sent some contingents of army only in response to the call of Jayapala. The defeat of the army of Jayapala in 977 A.D. as a result of which the territory to the west of the Indus including Lamghan and Peshawar passed over to the Sultan, had no repercussion on other North Indian States. Then again in 1006-07 A.D., when Sultan Mahmud in course of his invasion on Multan tried to pass through the territories of Anandapala, the successor of Jayapala, the latter apprehending a crisis for the whole of India, appealed to the neighbouring Rajas for help. The Rajas of Ujain, Gwalior, Kalinjar, Kanauj, Delhi and Ajmer, according to Firishta,[11] readily responded to the appeal and despatched their contingents to swell the Sahi army. Evidently there is some amount of exaggeration in the statement, but that there was an organised movement is also understood from the account of Utbi. Victory again lay with the Yamini Sultan, who pursued the fugitives upto the fort of Nagarkot in 1009 A.D., but as on previous occasion, it did not matter very much with those allies of Anandapala, including the Candellas just then, as they did not participate directly in the battle and their main source of power remained in tact.

Mahmud too did not belittle the potentialities of these rulers, and

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he took out almost annual expeditions to India and dealt with the states separately,[12] thereby consolidating his Indian Empire. The Candellas, it must be admitted, had not had to face the Turki onslaught till 1019A.D when Vidyādhara a grandson of Dhaṅga was on the Candella throne. This justifies the claim of the praśasti-kāra in comparing Dhaṅga with Hamvīra as an equal in the Mahoba Record, whose reign was not marred by defeat at the hands of the Sultan.

Notes:—

1. E. I., I., pp. 129, 134.
2. ibid., pp. 221
3. ibid., pp., 218-19.
4. Tabakat-i-Akbari, Nizamuddin. (B. Dey). p. 3.
5. Dr. Nazim disagrees with this interpretation. The life and times of Sultan Mahmud of Ghazna. p. 86. f. n. 3.
6. I. H. Q., XXV., p. 213.
7. T. F., I., pp. 18-19; T. A., pp. 3-4; K. Y., pp. 40-42.
8. The life and times of Sultan Mahmud of Ghazna. p. 30.
9. T. A., p. 3.
10. T. F., I., p. 18.
11. T. F., I., p. 46.
12. The life and times of Sultan Mahmud of Ghazna. App. No., pp. 232-34.

A UNIQUE GOLD COIN FROM TĀMRALIPTA

Sri Paresh Chandra Das Gupta.

The ancient city-port of Tāmralipta, which once linked up the martitime traffics of the eastern and the western seas in the ancient days, is now partly submerged by the broad river Rupnarayan and partly covered by the region of Tamluk in the Midnapur district of West Bengal. It is quite well-known from ancient Indian, Ceylonese, Chinese and Graeco-Roman accounts how the place once

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became a common meeting-ground of the sailors of three continents-Asia, Europe and Africa. Now, the archaeology of Tāmralipta has to a great extent supported the different ancient literary accounts, its glory and importance in the early days. Formerly, the site of Tamluk had yielded numerous antiquities in the form of terra-cottas of surpassing interest including several figures and pottery-fragments of Graeco-Roman origin. Many of these being collected by the present writer have now been preserved in the Asutosh Museum of Indian Art of the Calcutta University.

Very recently, a unique antiquity in the shape of a small gold coin of beautiful execution was collected by the present writer among some other important finds from Tāmralipta. The present coin which is a round piece (diam: ⅛")weighing 6.25 grains has created an immense interest in the field of Indian numismatics, as it is probably the only one of its kind so far discovered in India. On the obverse of the coin is seen a bull or a stag under a four-spoked wheel. The right side of the flan of the coin is covered by several minor symbols chiefly consisting of small dots and a hook. In the middle of the reverse there are two prominent marks looking like letters of Graeco-Roman charcater, while the margin of the flan shows traces of a legend of which one letter may be read as *Brāhmi* "pu" or "bha" from opposite sides. In any case the palaeography of the letter seems to belong to the early Kushāṇa period. This small gold coin being made of double-die process bears slight incuses on both sides and, thereby, it shows technical affinity with the early Greek coins. Among the letters on the reverse the second letter looks clearly like "L", while the first letter looks like a letter in ornamental form. The legend, which has been very prominently given, may conceal the prefix of the name of some ancient city of the Graeco-Roman world. The practice of only putting the first part of the name of the city-state on the coins was greatly prevalent in the ancient Hellenistic world. Thus, the cities of Athens, Tanagra and Magnesia struck coins with the abbreviated legends "ATHE", "TA" and "MA" respectively. The bull and antelope, one of which occurs on the gold cion of Tamluk, were both familiar motifs with the ancient Indian and Hellenic coinage. The four-spoked wheel above the couchant animal was

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was again a favourite mark of the Greek coins apart from its being popular among the ancient Indians and the Lydians. As it stands for the Greek letter *Thyeta*, some times it also served as the monogram of the Theban coins. Further, the reverse symbol of a hook is almost exotic in its charcater. Sri D.P. Ghosh, curator of the Austosh Museum, has opined that the treatment of the animal motif on the reverse is quite unIndian. Actually, the supple but conventional style of its depiction is analogous with the treatment of similar motifs on some classes of coins of the Asiatic Greek states., viz., Byzantium, Calchedon and others. The analogy may show that the art of the animal motif on the gold coin of Tāmralipta seems to be nothing but the result of the fusion of the aethestic ideals of India and the Mediterranean world which particularly occurred in the Kushāṇa period. Although the animal and the wheel motif may also be compared with the motifs of some of the Aśokan capitals, the difference lies in the arrangement and treatment, as well as in the fact that the Aśokan wheels are multi-spoked and this wheel on the coin has only four spokes. Now, there remains a question, whether the traces of the Brāhmī-like legend on the obverse suggests that this type of coins were once minted in India or rather in the reign of Tāmralipta by the traders of ancient Greece for trading advantage. For the same purpose the Indo-Greeks struck bilingual coins in the Punjab and in the North-Western Frontier in the Śuṅga and Kānva periods and a class of small silver coins of Menander circulated in the port of Barygaza (Broach) even in the 1st cent. A.D. The metrology of the present coin also greatly corresponds with some of the lighter issues of the ancient Greek states and cleruchies. After the passing away of Alexander, the Greek states received nominal freedom and this freedom encouraged them to coin money of various weights and blazons. Thus, Seltman observes, 'Since freedom in name carried with it the right to own a mint, many of the city-states in Greece and the islands, as well as in Asia Minor, continued to coin small pieces for local use...."(Greek coins, London, 1955, p. 254). It seems quite possible, that, the coins of the present type were minted somewhere in the eastern coast for local use in the first or second century A. D. when the Graeco-Romans had a very close cultural

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and commerical contact with the country. The building of a Greek mint in India even does not look surprising as many of its kind once stood in the Punjab and the North Western Frontier and "a Greek mint would normally be nothing better than a small hut of sun-dried brick, or a wooden shanty, containing in one corner a little clay built furnace fed with charcoal." (Seltman: Ibid, p. 21). Lastly, it may be recalled that *The Peripuls of the Erythraean Sea*, a Greek log-book of the 1st century A.D., refers to a kind of unknown gold coins in ancient coastal Bengal called. "Caltis". As the gold coin from Tamralipta was possibly in circulation in the early Kushan period, it may throw some important light on the problem of its identification.

The discovery of a coin bearing Graeco-Roman affinity at Tamluk should not be taken as too surprising as more than half a century ago "a great find of gold coins of Constantine, Gordian etc., in beautiful preservation," were found near Bamanghati in the Singhbhum district. Sewell, who made an excellent list of the Roman coins as discovered in different parts of India in the "Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society of Great Britain and Ireland" for 1904 (p. 619 ff) noted that Bāmanghāṭi which lay between Chaibasa abd Belasore stood on the main road from Tamluk. It is quite likely that the above mentioned Roman gold coins travelled to the site of Bāmanghāṭi from the busy harbour of Tāmralipta whose hinterland once covered the vast regions of Bengal, Bihar and Orissa. In this connection it may be noted,that,the ancient site of Tildā in the midway between Tamluk and the Singbhum frontier has also yielded in the last year a terra-cotta Greek tablet containing in it the thanksgiving of an unknown Greek sailor to the East wind.'

In the light of the discovery of these archaeological finds the present gold coin from Tamluk will definitely help illuminating some of the dark chapters of the cultural and economic history of ancient Bengal particularly in the Kushāṇa period. It is to our immense fascination they are supporting the accounts of the author of the Periplus, Ptolemy, and Pliny, as well as the information of the early Sanskrit text of the "Daśakumāracharita" of Daṇḍin about the

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intimate trade relation between the Gangetic delta and the far-off Mediterranean World in the bygone days.

1 The coin is now preserved in the Asutosh Museum of the Calcutta University.

"A NOTE ON UPARIKARA AND UDRANGA"

(Summary)

Dr. S. R. Das.

Epigraphic records (mostly land-grants) from 5th century A.D. onwards contain references to numerous fiscal terms indicating different kinds of state impositions, direct and indirect. This paper makes a critical discussion on the meaning and significance of two such common fiscal terms namely *Uparikara* and *Udranga* very often conjointly occuring in the inscriptions. An attempt has been made to find out the nature and charcater of the state-impositions indicated by these two terms. It has been suggested that *Uparikara* and *Udranga* refer to two kinds of very common additional state impositions on the excess income of the people, to be paid in cash or kind.

TWO COUPLETS FROM SRIMAD-BHĀGAVATA AND THEIR IMPORTANCE

By

Prof. J. N. Banerjea

Verse 18 of the fourth canto of Book II of the *Srimad-Bhagvata* is of outstanding importance for the cultural history of India. It reads:—

Kirata-Hun-Andhra -Pulinda-Pukkasa-Abhira-Suhma-Yavanah Khasadayah

Ye'nye cha papa yadupasrayasryah sudhyanti tasmai Prabhavisanavenamah

It can be freely translated thus, 'Salutation to the mighty and influential Lord (Vishṇu), by having recourse to whose Bhaktas sinful

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races like the Kirātas, the Hūṇas, the Āndhras, the Pulindas, the Pukkasas, the Abhiras, the Suhmas, the Yavanas, the Khasas and others get purified.' The verse forms a part of the *stava* uttered by Śuka in praise of the great Lord Vishṇu before King Parikshita. Śuka here emphasises the purifying character of Vishṇu-worship by adopting which through the help of the immediate Bhaktas of the great good, many people of the alien and pre-Aryan stock attain purity and salvation. Here is a clear indication of the process by which many racial elemnets outside the othodox Hindu fold were being thoroughly absorbed in it. This verse shows how the alien races like the Kirātas (the Tibeto-Burmans), the Hūnas, the Yavanas and the Abhiras along with the pre-Aryan and non-Aryan peoples like the Pulindas, the Pukkasas, the Āndhras, the Suhmas and the Khasas were being admitted as different units of the composite social structure of India. There were various factors which contributed to this race fusion, the most important among them being religion. Alien people culturally less advanced than the Indians, while settling in different regions of India, were naturally prone to be influenced by the beliefs and practices of the people of the country, and we have clear literary and archaeological evidence about their conversion to the respective creeds of Buddhism, and different branches of Brahmanical Hinduism like Vaishṇavism, Śaivism and Śaktism. The Kushāṇa emperor Wema Kadphises became an exclusive and ardent worshipper of the great god Śiva-Paśupati, and many foreigners of the Śaka Pahlava and Hūṇa racial stocks became adherents of the creeds of Buddha, Śiva, Śakti and Vishṇu. Inscriptions of an alien dynasty ruling over a great part of Northern India in the mediaeval times prove that many kings of this mighty line were respective adherents to the cults of Vishṇu, Śiva, Śakti and Sūrya. The great kings Devaśakti, Vatsarāja, Nāgabhaṭa and Rāmabhadra of the Gurjara-Pratihāra dynasty were devout worshippers of Vishṇu, Śiva, Śakti and Sūrya respectively, and are described in the inscriptions as *Prama-Vaishṇava*, *Parama-Maheśvara*, *Parama-Bhagavatībhakta* and *Param-Ādityabhakta* in successive order. Even foreigners of sufficiently advanced culture like the Yavanas (Bactrian Greeks) adopting India as their homeland fell under the influence of Indian religions, and the

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powerful Indo-Greek ruler Menander adopted Buddhism as his faith, and Heliodorus the ambassador of Antialkidas, the Yavana king of Takshaśilā, to the court of king Bhagabhadra of Vidisa embrcaed the creed of Vāsudeva Krishṇa. The latter is described in the Besnagar Inscription as a Bhāgavata-a devout worshipper of Devadeva Vāsudeva. The Pulindas, the Suhmas, the Āndhras, the Pukkasas and such other pre-Aryan and non-Aryan settlers of India, on the other hand,had undoubtedly some share in the original formation of any of the Indian religious systems, for the evolution of the ideas of *Bhakti* lying at the root of the respective creeds appears to have been mainly due to them. But in the well-developed composite social structure of the orthodox Hindu order, their status was lowly, which could only be substantially improved by their adhering themselves devoutly to any one of these creeds thoroughly organised, systematised and developed by the religious thinkers belonging to the higher order. All these points are implicit in the verse in question, and the Puranakara expressly state that 'those and other racessinful (sic) by birth and deed' (Sridharasvami comments on *yenye cha pāpah* as *Kirātadayo ye papajatayah anye cha ye karmatah paparupaste*) get purified by resorting to those (Bhagavatas) who are direct adherents of the great god (comment:—*yadupasrayah Bhagavatas-tadasrayaḥ santa sudhyanti*). It is to be noted that these socalled sinful races have only indirect access to the Lord, according to the author, i.e., they are converted to the Vaishnava creed through the efforts and good graces of the Bhagavatas belonging to the higher social order.

The other couplet occurs in the third canto of the eighth Book of the *Bhāgavatapurāṇa* (VIII. 3., 20). It reads:—

Ekantino yaya na kanchanartham banchhanti ye vai bhagavatprapannah Atyadbhutam tachcharitam sumangalam gayanta anandasamudramagnah

Its free rendering into English will be as follows:—"(I worship Him) the one-souled devotees of Whom do not desire anything whatsoever resorting to the Bhagavat with (absolute) self-surrener and Whose wonderful and beneficial deeds are always sung by them who are (in this way) steeped in the ocean of bliss." This also forms a part of another beautiful *stava* uttered in praise of Lord Vishṇu by the king of elephants (Gajendra), when he was in great difficulty

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being dragged into the sea by an acquatic monster. It may be incidentally observed here that this *stuti* is one of the best such praising verse-collections in the whole of the *Bhāgavate purāṇa*. But what is of special interest in this verse is that a second reference to the south Indian Vaishṇava saints usually known as the Alvars is most probably to be found in it. The first such reference was long ago found in verses 38-40 of the eleventh Book of the *Purāṇa* by R. G. Bhandarkar in his *Vaishṇavism, Śaivism and Minor Religious Systems* (pp. 48-9). The verses were freely rendered by Bhandarkar in this manner 'In the Kali age there will be found men here and there devoted to Nārāyaṇa, but in large numbers in the Dravida country, where flow the rivers Tāmprarni, Kāverī and others, and that those who drink the water of these rivers will mostly be pure-hearted devotees of Vāsudeva.' A critical analysis of the couplet in question will show how it lays a significant characterisation of the Vaishṇava saints of the south. The word *alvar* is a Tamil one, and it means'(one) whom is steeped in the bliss of devotion to the Bhāgavata'. These saints were desireless bhaktas of the Lord Vishṇu, and are mainly remembered and venerated by the Vaishṇavas as the great Prapannas(those absolutely surrendering themselves to the Lord) singing the praises and glories of the God in beautiful devotional hymns known as *prabandhas* composed by them. It is needless to reiterate that all these characteristic traits are described in the verse in question, and we have every reason to believe that these one-souled devotees of the God *ekantnah*) steeped in the ocean of bliss (of Bhagavadbhakti) and singinging his praises and glories are none other than the Alvars.

EDUCATIONAL CONDITIONS IN ANCIENT KĀMBUJADESA

By

Dr. Baijnath Puri.

The Kambuja inscriptions furnish copious information about the educational conditions in ancient Kāmbujadeśa. The data

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from the records suggest that there was no deviation from the Indian system as regards the subjects of study and the methods of teaching with identical types of teachers, similar centres of learning, patronised, as usual, by the kings, and the progressive use of Indian literature-both Sanskrit and Pali. There is a solitary reference to Guṇāḍhya suggesting that Prākrit was not unknown but, unfortunately we have not come across any Prākrit record. It seems that the Brahmin immigrants into Kambujadeśa were retaining the chaste traditions of their language despite the passage of time. The Brāhmī script was retained though the types occasionally varied, calling for a good deal of discussion as the script has much to tell regarding the original home of the Indian emigrants. It is equally interesting to find references to talented ladies in ancient Kambujadesa which suggest that learning was not confined to a particular class or sex alone, but there were equal opportunities for the ladies to distinguish themselves by their academic accomplishments. Contact was maintained with the homeland and scholars were invited for special instructions. Sometime Kambuja pandits also visited India and learned Śāstras at the feet of distinguished savants. Learning was diffuesd through centres popularly called *āśramas* which enjoined the patronage of the Kambuja emperors. Some of the *vidyāśramas* were maintained by learned Brahmins. The literary output of the Kambuja pandits was fairly satisfactory, and even new works were composed, as for example, we find a reference to Yaśovarman writing a commentary on the Mahābhāsya. Here we propose considering the subject under the following headings: subjects of study, teachers and students including lady students, educational contacts, centres of learning, Buddhist education, state patronage, and literary output. *Subjects of study.* The subjects of study seem to have varied according to the taste and interest of the person concerned, as for example Śivasoma, the guru of Indra-varman studied *Śāstras*, *Veda*, *Tarka* (Logic), *Kāvyas* (Rhetorics), *Purānas*, *Bhāratasesha* (Mahābhbhārata); and *Vyākaraṇa*.[1] Śrisuāmi, the father of Bhagavata Kavi the preceptor of Jaya-varman III distinguished himself in Veda, Granmar and Philosophy (*Veda-Vyākaraṇottama tarkābhipāragah*)[2] Kavindra paṇḍita himself was versed in five grammars (*panca-vyāk-*

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āraṇantah), Śabda (Phonetics), *Artha* (meaning and *Āgma* (Sacred texts), *Mahābhārata*, (unabridged-*vistāram*), and Rāmāyana.[3] It is said of king Yaśovarman that he was well up in all the Sāstras, in the Science of architecture (*Śilpaśastra*), in scripts (lipibhāsa) in dancing and music (*nṛitya-gītādi*) and in other sciences (*Vijnāneśvādi-kartava-paṇḍitah*). He himself had composed a commentary on the Mahābhāsya.[4] Much earlier King Bhava-varman was an accomplished ruler thoroughly conversant with the Dharmaśāstras (*Dharmaśāstrartha-śāstrajno*[5] and Vidyāpuspa, an official of Iśāna-varman was a philologist (Śabda-vaiśesika) and well bestowed in the best branches of Nyāya (*nyāyasamīksā-sugatādhvanam*).[6] The *Vedas* and *Vedāngas* attracted a learned Brahmin Dharmasvāmin who was chief of Dharmapura.[7] The Vedangas normally include *Śiksā*, *Chanda*, *Vyākaraṇa*, *Nirukta*, *Jyotisha*, and *Kāvyas*. *Jyotisha* or Astronomy was quite popular and there are references to persons well up in *Hora-Śāstra*.[8] Among the talented rulers *Sūrya*-varman II was proficient in various branches of knowledge such as, *Bhāsya*, *Kāvya*, six systems of Philosophy, and *Dharma-Śāstras*.[9] Jayendra-pandita taught Sri Udayāditya-varmadeva all scineces-*Sidhānta Vyākarṇaa*, *Dharma Śāstra* and other *Śāstras*.[10] The same inscription also refers to other subjects like Music (*gandharvavidya*), sculpture (*Śilpavidyā*), a particular science of astronomical forecast (*hora-śāstrar*) and Medicine (*cikitsa*).

These subjects imply the study of certain works. We notice references[11] to three or four Vedas including Atharva and Sāma. Vedic stories were popular and we find reference to the seduction of Ahalyā by Indra[12]. Grammar was studied according to different traditions. Pāṇini is mentioned in several records, and one actually quotes a *Sutra*.[13] The Saiva Vyākarana necessarily suggest *Ashātadhyāyī*,. The Epics and the Purāṇas were well known. We find study of both Vālamiki's Rāmāyaṇa and the Mahābhārata. The names of the Purāṇas are not noticed, but certain legends are noted, like those of Sāvitrī, Vāsudeva, and Kamśabadha, and Hiranyakasyyapa.[14] Manusmriti and several others seem to have been studied as, the authors of inscriptions have drawn freely from them.[15] People were also familar with the works of Kalidasa, especially Raghuvamśa,

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as Sunandā[16] and Dilipa are mentioned. Rudra-varman's kingdom is compared to that of Dilipa. Besides Kālidāsa, the names of Bhārava Vasubandhu, and the Prakrit writer Gunāḍhya also figure in inscriptions. Pravarsena's *Setavandhu*, *Simhālavalokitanyāya*, and Vātsyāyana's *Kāmasūtra* are also mentioned.[17] Very probably Kautilya's *Arthaśastra* was also known. Almost all the Sanskrit metres are noticed in the inscriptions. suggesting that the authors of the record were thoroughly acquainted with the rules and conventions of Sanskrit rhetorics and poetry.

Teachers and students:- two terms. *Upādhyāya*[19] and *adhyāpaka*[20] are noticed in the records. The students are called *antevasin* or *śisya*. A student of Sivasoma who had studied Śāstras at the feet of Bhagwān Śankara was appointed an *upādhyāya* in Sri Indravarmesvara kshetra.[21] A similar appointment of an *upādhyaya* was that of Vinaya which was made in the temple of Parmesvara.[21] The appointment of Jayamaṅgalārtha, as an *adhyāpaka* was made by Jaya-varman.[23] It is difficult to draw a distinction in the status of the two classes of teachers. According to the lexicons,[24] the *upādhyāya* earned his living by teaching only a portion of the *Veda*, *Vedānga* and *Vyākaraṇa*. The two seems to be different from an *āchārya*. It appears that the temples, as centres of learning housed both the teachers and the taught, and they were provided with board and lodging. The ladies could not stay in these temples and Āśramas, but there was provision for their education as we find references to several talented ladies. Janapadā was a distinguished student of Yogeśvara paṇḍita.[25] Jayavarman VII's first queen received her education from her elder sister who herself was a talented lady and gave instructions into Buddhist āśramas. Later she married the emperor after the death of her sister.[26] Another talented lady was Tilakā whose name appears in an inscription from Laos.[27] These inscriptions do not suggest anything regarding the relations between the preceptors and the pupils, but it appears that a feeling of filial relationship between the two is not wanting.

Educational Contacts:—The urge for learning was sustained by constant contact with India, and the arrival of fresh bands of scholars from the homeland. It seems that some scholars also went to

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India. Among the notable immigrants were Agastyanan inhabitant of Āryāvarata who was proficient in the *Vedas* and *Vedānga*.[28] Sarvajnamuni was thoroughly conversant in all the four *Vedas* and āgamas and was a devotee of Śiva.[29] He too belonged to Āryāvarta, and coming over to Kambujadesa, he and his descendant occupied high posts. Hiraṇyadāma was a great Tantric who taught four texts to Sivakaivalya-Brahmasikha, Nayottara, Sammoha, and Siraścheda.[30] A Brahmin named Mahāpradhāna came to this country from Narapatideśa, probably Burma, to establish contact with the Kambuja scholars.[31] Among the scholars who went to India was Śivasoma, the teacher of Indra-varman, and he studied Śāstras at the feet of Bhagavān Śankara. According to Coedes, the Gauḍa style of certain inscriptions suggests that the writers of these records were either natives of eastern part of India or, they had stayed over there for sometime. These contacts were very helpful in the propagation of learning.

Centres of Learning:—The religious Āśramas and temples were centres of learning. Yaśovarman had set up one hundred such āśramas with a temple attached to each one of them. The head was called *kulādhyaksa*.[32] The rules and regulations governing these aśramas are also mentioned in inscriptions. Among the Vaishṇava āśramas precedence was accorded in the following order: persons conversant with the three Vedas (*traividyonataram*) followed by the āchāryas well up in grammar (*ācāryas sa ca Śābdikah*), and among the persons of the same category, preference was to be given to one observing Brahmacarya.[33] Further among those knowing the Pancarātra or grammar, honour was to be shown to the teachers of those two sciences.[34] Among the Śaiva āśramas, Brahmins preceded the Śaiva and Pāśupata ācāryas, but one conversant with grammar was to be honoured. The one actually teaching was to be preferred to the one only acquianted with it.[35] In the Buddhist āśramas the learned Brahmin was to be accorded precedence over the ācārya versed in Buddhist doctrine or grammar. One conversant with both was to be preferred to the other. As in the case of the other two āśramas, the teacher of Buddhist doctrine or grammar was to be preferred to the one only knowing these subjects.[36] All

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these āśramas were provided with two scribes (*dvau lekhakau*), two keepers of books (*pustaka-rakshiṇau*), two keepers of Royal seal or some other object (*rāja-kuṭipālau*) and six men who prepared the leaves of manuscripts, (*saṭa patrakārakāh*).[36] These centres were repositories of learning which they diffused on a grand scale. Sectarianism had no place in these institutions, as we find that learned Brahmins were honoured everywhere. It is interesting to learn that there was provision for copying manuscripts. We also notice reference to pen, inkpots barch leaves (*riktapatram masīm*).[37] One inscription refers to gifts made to āśramas incldıng manuscripts of all the Śāstras.[38] The religious foundation of the Brahmin Divākarabhata included besides Maheśvaralinga named Dvijendra, an image of Vishṇu, a Vidyāśrama or centre of learning.[39] Such centres seems to have been maintained from the endowments made by the emperors and the landed properties attached to them. Articles of food and other necessities were levied from farmers and traders.[40]

Buddhist Education:— It is evident from the inscriptions, especially Tap Pranam[41] that Yasovarman created endowments for Buddhist asramas which were centres for Buddhist learning. In these institutions Buddhist works and grammar were studied. A Buddhist scholar named Kīrtivarman, a minister of Jayavarman II, brought with him a number of books from foreign countries and kindled the lamp of *Mahāvibhāgaśātra.*[42] Among these works was a commentary known as *Tatvasamgraha.* Sūrya-varman also encouraged Buddhist learning and it is said that he had set up a centre of learning. The second queen of Jaya-varman VII Indradevī had studied all the Buddhist texts, and she taught the Buddhist nuns of the convents of Nagendratunga, Tilakottara and Narendrasrama. She taught her younger sister, the first queen of Jaya-varman, and on the return of her husband from a successful expedition against Champa she arranged a dramatic performance the plot of which was drawn from the Jātakas.[43] This drama was acted by a body of nuns recruited from cast away girls (*tyaktam prasubhih*). It is thus clear that there was separate provision for Buddhist education, and also for Buddhist nuns, and probably talented ladies like Indrādevī looked after them. There are also references to the teaching of Yogācāra philosophy.[44]

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State Patronage : It would not have been possible for Indian thought and learning transplanted to Kambujadesa, to thrive and prosper but for the state patronage. It is evident that talented like Yaśovarman, Sūrya-varman II and Jaya-varman created endowments for these centres of learning without any distinction. They also encouraged poets and probably such gatherings were arranged in that country as well on the model of the contemporary Indian poetical gatherings referred to by Rājaśekhara.[45] A son of Namassīvāya and Vagīśvari Bhagvatī received the title of *Bhupendrasuri* or *Bhupendra-paṇḍita.* His son like his father, received the same title and then those of *Rājendra-paṇḍita* and *Sūryaipaṇḍita.*[46] Srinivāsa Kavi had received from Jaya-varman II the title of *Prithvīndra-paṇḍita.*[47] A disciple of Jayendra-paṇḍita named Phalapriya received the title of *Kavindra-paṇḍita.*[48] It seems that sometimes there were contests as well. One inscription refers to Sura triumphing over a rival named Bhīnaka,[49] and the same inscription mentions another poet named Maurya. Talented scholars were appointed for the education of Royal princes. Yaśovarman received his education from Vāmaśiva disciple of Sten an Sivasoma who in his turn was the preceptor of Indra varman.[50] Jayendra-paṇḍita taught Sri Udyādityavarmadeva all the sciences.[51] Jaya-varman is compared to Pāṇini.

Literature and *Writing*: We have already referred to the texts studied by the people in Kambujadesa. It has been suggested that the *Vedas*, *Vedāngas*, *Sutras*, including Nyāya, systems of grammar, Epics and the Purāṇas, the Smṛitis Kāvyas, rhetorics, and works of Kālidāsa, Bhāravi and other writers, and *Manusmṛiti*, Kauṭilya's *Arthaśāstra* and *Vatsyāyana's Kāmasūtra* were studied. It is evident from the inscriptions written in chaste Sanskrit that Kambuja scholars had dipped into literature, and their grounding was firm. We have already referred to certain inscriptions written in Gauḍa style suggesting closer contact with eastern India. The contribution of the Kambuja paṇḍita does not appear to be meagre when kings like Yaśovarman could write a commentary on a text of great difficulty like *Mahābhāṣya.* There was no dearth of scholars. It appears that Indian literature was transplanted in that land in full, and arrangements were made for preserving the texts by getting

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them copied. *Lipi* writing was a part of studies, and it was practised from very early times. According to the 'History of the Tsin Dynasty'[52] composed by Fang-Huang-lung (578-648 A.D.) covering the period 265-419 A. D., in writing the people of Fu-nan use an alphabet derived from India their characters resemble those of Hu(Central India). It is clear from the earlier Sanskrit inscriptions of Fu-nan that Indian alphabets were used there. Another work named Tong-tien an encyclopedia composed at the end of the eighth century A.D. also refers to the alphabets of the Kambuja script being derived from India.[53]

We have noticed practically all aspects of the educational systems of ancient Kambujadesa. It appears that there was a real urge to assimilate all that was best and noble in ancient Indian educational system both in letter and spirit. This is manifested in the famous Sloka quoted from the Manusmriti, which enjoins that among the householders, wealth, family, age, charity and learning have to be honoured in ascending order. This dictum was actually followed and we notice several cases of Royal princes being given in marriage to talented Brahmins.

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1. Codes: Inscription due Cambodge (Abbvr. CIK) Vol I. p. 40; Majumdar: Kambuja Inscriptions (Abbrv. MKI) no. 54.p.58.
2. MKI. No. 58. p. 71.: BEFEO. XXVIII. p. 387.
3. Ibid. no. 131. p. 331., ibid. p. 58.
4. ibid.no., 62, p. 94.
5. MKI. no.
6. ibid. no. 16. p. 22, BEFEO. XXVIII. p. 44.
7. CIK. Vol. I. p. 7; MKI. no. 34 p. 45. v. 5.
8. MKI. no. 152. p. 369. v. 72.
9. ibid. no. 173. p. 451. v. 18.
10. ibid. no. 152. p. 369.
11. CIK. vol. I. p. 73; MKI. no. 77. p. 233.
12. MKI. no. 69. p. 112.
13. ibid. no. 73. p. 154. v. 13.
14. ibid. p. 73. v. 3; p. 231. v. 93.
15. ibid. no. 66. p. 123. vv. 63-64.

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16. ibid. no. 30. p. 39. v. 19.
17. ibid. no. 67. p. 97.
18. ibid. no. 73. p. 153. v. 19.
19. ibid. no. 7 p. 130. v. 58.
20. ibid. no. 190. p. 544 v. 22.
21. ibid. 54. p. 58.
22. ibid. no. 139. p. 334.
23. Elliot : Vol. III. p. 116.
24. Monier Williams : Sans—Eng. Dict. p.
25. MKI. no. 152. p. 364.
26. ibid. p. p. 515.
27. ibid. no. 173. p. 140.
28. ibid. no. 60. p. 76. v. 5.
29. ibid. no. 191. p. 548.
30. ibid. no. 152. p. 363.
31. ibid. no. 190. p. 541.
32. ibid. no. 60. pp. 74. ff.
33. ibid. no. 66. p. 123.
34. ibid. v. 62.
35. ibid. no. 68. p. 136. v. 61.
26. ibid. no. 67. p. 130. v. 58.
36. (1). ibid p. 126. v. 98.
37. ibid. no. 67. v. 84.
38. ibid. no. 173. p. 440.
39. ibid. no. 112. p. 293.
40. ibid. no. 177. p. 460.
41. ibid. no. 67. p. 127. ff.
42. Coedes: Estam. p. 201.
43. MKI. p. 515 ff.
44. ibid. 233.
45. Kavyamimamsa. p.
46. MKI. no. 180. pp. 502 ff.
47. ibid. no. 58. p. 71.
48. ibid. p. 400.
49. ibid no. 64. p. 105.
50. ibid. no. 156. p. 385.

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51. ibid. no. 152. p. 363.
52. Pelliot: BEFEO Vol. III. p. 254.
53. ibid. p.
54. p. MKI ? p. 12. VV 63-64.

IDENTIFICATION OF VĀMADEVA OF KALACHURI INSCRIPTIONS

By

Prof. V. V. Mirashi,

It is well known that several later inscriptions of the Kalachuris of Tripurī describe the reigning king as meditating on the feet of *Paramabhaṭṭāraka Mahārājadhirāja Parmeśvara* Vāmadeva, who is further described in some records as *parama-māheśvara* or a devort worshipper of Maheśvara (Śiva). This description generally occurs in copper-plate grants, though in some rare cases it is noticed in stone inscriptions also. The earliest record in which the expression has been noticed so far is the Banaras copper-plate grant of Karṇa, dated K. 793 (A. D. 1042).[1] It is note worthy that this is also the earliest known copper-plate grant of the Kalachuris of Tripurī. The expression is next repeated in the inscription of four other kings viz., Yaśaḥkarṇa, Narasimha, Jayasimha and Vijayasimha.[2] It has not yet been noticed in the stone inscriptions of the reign of Gayākarṇa. It occurs also in the grants of two feudatory princes of Karkareḍī in connection with the description of their Kalachuri suzerains. When the Kalachuri kingdom was annexed by the Chandella Trilokyamalla (or Trailokyavarman), the clerks in the Secretariat at Tripurī and Karkareḍī, who were accustomed to the old draft, continued to use the same expression in the discription of their new Emperor Trailokyamalla for some time. hence we find it used in the Dhureti plates of Trailokyamalla,[3] dated K. 963 (A.D. 1212) and the Rewa plates of his feudatory Kumārapāla,[4] dated V. 1297 (A.D. 1239).

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The expression pād-ānudhyāta is generally used to denote immediate succession as that of a son to his father or of one brother to another. *Vāmadeva-pād-ānudhyāta* cannot, however, be interpreted in this manner: for Vāmadeva could not have been the immediate predecessor of so many Kalachuri kings. It has therefore been suggested that Vāmadeva in this expression means Śiva. This explanation is, however. precluded by the fact that Vāmadeva himself is, in some records, described as *parama-māheśvara.* Another explanation suggested by Dr. Barnett, viz. that the Kalachuri kings, on account of their fervent devotion to Śiva. were, on death, considered to have become identical with that god and hence their successors were described as *Vāmadeva-pād-ānudhyāta,* is eqully unsatisfactory; for there is no evidence of such a belief having been current in that age.

While editing the Malkapuram stone pillar inscription of Rudradeva (or Rudrāmbā), dated Ś. 1183 (A.D. 1261), Mr. Ramayya Pantulu drew attention to the following passage occurring in it.[5]

अथ नृपकोरवरमा लालालितपादोऽत्र वामशम्भुरभूत ।
अद्यापि कलचुरीणा यच्चरणाराधका प्रशस्यन्ते ।।

Mr. Pantulu thought that Vāmaśambhu on whose feet the Kalachuri kings of Ḍāhala were meditating till A. D. 1261 was identical with Vāmadeva on whose feet several Kalachuri kings from Karṇa onwards are described as meditating in their grants. The use of imperial titles in connection with Vāmadeva's name presented a difficulty, for which Mr. Pantulu gave no explanation. Later, Dr. Sircar, who adopted Mr. Pantulu's explanation, tried to account for it in the following manner[6]:-

(1) Saints and religious teachers were called *Bhaṭṭārakas.* As the reigning king was *Paramabhaṭṭāraka,* the Śaiva saint on whose feet he meditated could not have been given a lower title.

(2) Heads of monasteries are generally called *Mahārājas* all over North India. Besides, a Maṭhādhipati is also the lord of villages donated by kings in favour of the monastery, As Vāmadeva's disciple was a *Mahārājādhirāja,* he had to be given an euqally grand title.

(3) A *guru* is no less than God (Īśvara). If Vāmadeva's disciples

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used the title *Parameśvara*, he could not have been denied that title also.

These explanations can hardly be regarded as satisfactory.[7] They really beg the question. They may have some plausibility only after Vāmadeva has been definitely proved to be a Śaiva saint. *Prima facie* Vāmadeva appears to be the name of a king and not that of a Śaiva ascetic. The names of Śaiva ascetics ended in *śiva* or *śambhu*. There is no reason to suppose that the name Vāmaśiva was changed into Vāmadeva. There is much exaggeration in the description of Śaiva ascetics in the Malkapuram inscription. Its statesment that Sadbhāvaśambhu, the spiritual preceptor of Vāmaśambhu, received from the Kalachuri king Yuvarājadeva the gift of three lakhs of villages, is not borne out by any other evidence. Neither the inscriptions of the Kalachuri kings nor those of their Śaiva Āchāryas make any mention of it. They record gifts of only few villages. Again, Dr. Sircar identifies this Yuvarājadeva with the first king of that name who ruled at Tripurī from *circa* A.D. 915 to A.D. 945. His guru Sadbhāvaśambhu thus flourished in the first half of the tenth century A. D. Vāmaśambhu, the disciples of Sadbhāvaśambhu,[8] could not, as supposed by Dr. Sircar, have been a contemporary of the Kalachuri Emperor Karṇa who ruled nearly a century later (A.D. 1041-1073). Finally, the statement in the Malkapuram inscription that the Kalachuris of Ḍāhala were meditating on the feet of Vāmaśambhu till as late as A. D. 1261 is not supported by any evidence. In view of the evident exaggeration in regard to the number of villages donated to Sadbhāvaśambhu, one is inclined to look with suspicion on this description also.

While reviewing the edition of Jayānaka's *Pṛithvīrājavijaya* by Ojha and Guleri in the *Indian Historical Quarterly*, vol. XVIII. pp. 77 f. Dr. Sircar sought to support his previous view that Vāmadeva was the *guru* of Kalachuri Karṇa by drawing attention to the description, in verses 95-112 of Canto VI. of a very great Kalachuri king of Tripuri named Sāhasika. According to a mutilated statement in the commentary of verse 97 of that canto, Sāhasika offered his kingdom as *guru-dakshiṇā* to the ascetic Vāmadeva.[9] Dr. Sircar identified this

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Sāhasika with the Kalachuri king Karṇa. Recently, while criticising my view that Vāmadeva was an early Kalachuri king who founded the dynasty at Tripuri, Dr. Sircar has reopened this question.[10] He now believes that Sāhasika who offered his kingdom to Vāmadeva was not Karṇa, but his father Gāṅgeyadeva. He supports this new identification by calling attention to Gāṅgeya's title Vikramāditya.[11] Sāhasika means the same as Sāhasāṅka, which is well-known as a synonym of Vikramāditya. I propose, therefore, to examine this view at some length here.

The *Pṛithvīrājavijaya* is a historical *kāvya* of the same type as Bāṇa's *Harshacharita* and Bilhaṇa's *Vikramāṅkadevacharita*. Like these latter works it has mixed historical with imaginary or legendary matter. Its account of the genealogy of the Chāhamāna kings of Śākambharī is, no doubt, generally corroborated by contemporary inscriptions: but here and there it introduces imaginary episodes like king Vāsudeva's meeting with a Vidyādhara.[12] Even in regard to historical matters of the poet's own age, its account is not above suspicion. For instance, it states that Karpūradevī, the queen of Someśvara and mother of Pṛithivīrāja III, was the daughter of Achala[13] (or Tejala according to the commentator Jonarāja), the king of Tripurī[14] No such royal name is, however, noticed in the gnealogical list of the Kalachuris of Tripurī. Dr. Sircar takes Tejala (or Achala) as an *alias* of Gayākarṇa, but he states no reason why the proper name of the Kalachuri king has been changed. We know, of course, that in some Sanskrit romances and plays with a historical background such as the Navasāhasāṅkacharita and the *Viddhaśālabhanjikā*, the names of historical characters are purposely changed.[15] In Rājaśekhara's *Viddhaśālabhānjikā*, for instance, Karpūravarsha stands for the Kalachuri king Keyūravarsha (Yuvārajadeva I) and Bhāgurāyaṇa for his minister Bhākamiśra.[16] Jyānaka was, not however, writing a romantic poem or play. His object in composing this *kāvya* was to spread the glory of his patron Pṛithīvīrāja. This object could not have been attained by insertion of imaginary characters and incidents. His statement that Karpūradevī was the daughter of king Achala of Tripurī which is not supported by contemporary Kalachuri inscriptions shows that he had no accurate information

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about the queen-mother's immediate ancestors. If such is the state of things with regard to the name of the queen-mother's father, one can easily imagine how far his account of her remote ancestors like Sāhasika can be taken to be true.

I shall next try to show that the story of king Sāhasika given in the *Pṛithvīrājavijaya* not only does not support Dr. Sircar's theory that Vāmadeva was the *guru* of Kalachuri Gāṅgeyadeva but definitely goes against it. For this purpose I shall have to examine closely the contents of verse 95 f. of Canto VI, which describe the adventures of Sāhasika.

Unfortunately, the *Pṛithvīrājavijaya* has not been recovered in a complete form. Only one birch-bark Ms. in Śāradā characters was discovered by Dr. Bühler in Kashmir, which is now deposited in the Bhandarkar Oriental Research Institute at Poona. As Dr. Bühler says, the Ms. is mutilated and is in such a condition as to make the work of reading it very difficult. "The leaves which contain cantos I-X, says Dr. Bühler, 'have been broken in the middle by the friction of the thick string used for sewing the volume. Further, the lower portions of a considerable number of leaves have been lost.[18] From this imperfect Ms. the work has been edited twice-first by Dr. Belvalkar, who worked on the original Ms. then deposited in the Deccan College, Poona, and published it in the *Bibliotheca Indica Series* (in fascicules from 1914 onwards) and then by Pandit G. S. Ojha and Mr. C. S. Guleri, who, working on a copy of the Ms. made at Poona, published it at Ajmer in 1940. We shall, in the sequel, refer to these as the Bibliotheca Indica and Ajmer editions respectively.

Both the editions show lacunae in several places as the MS. has been damaged considerably. In some places only parts of some verses have been preserved, while others only a portion of the commentary on them can be read. In a few places both the verses and the commentary have been completely lost. The story of Sāhasika occurs towards the end of canto. VI. The Ajmer edition ends abruptly with verse 112. A foot-note on p. 178 states that three or four leaves have been lost thereafter.[19] Fortunately, these leaves were accessible to Dr. Belvalkar, who has given mutilated portion of nineteen more

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verses[20] on pp. 225-231 of his edition. As shown below, these verses, mutilated as they are, have helped greatly in understanding some details of the story. Dr. Belvalkar also remarks at the end of this canto that some fifteen more verses with the commentary thereon are missing. We can only surmise their contents.

The story of the Kalachuri king Sāhasika is introduced in this *kāvya* in the following manner. Siddharāja Jayasimha of Gujarat, who learned from astrologers that his son-in-law Someśvara's son would be an incarnation of Rāma, brought him to his capital.[21] When the astrologer of his court told Jayasimha that Kausalyā would incarnate and would have by Someśvara, two sons who would be incarnations of Rāma and Lakshmaṇa, the king wondered who she might be.[22] So the astrologer proceeded to tell him the story of the Kalachuri king Sāhasika who founded the kingdom of Tripurī and in whose family Karpūradevī, the mother of Pṛithivīrāja and Harirāja, was to take birth.

The description of the Kalachuri family commences in v. 70. The first few verses (70-91) give an account of his mythical and legendary ancestors such as the Moon, Budha, Purūravas, Bharata and Kārtavīrya. We learn from v. 92 that Kārtavīrya became known as Kalichuri (i.e. Kalachuri) because he gave protection to Kṛita (Golden Age) which was being kidnapped by Kali (Iron Age).[23] We are next told that several kings descended from him who bore the same name Kalichuri ruled in Kālīvana.

तदीयमेवाभरणायमानं
क्रमागतं नाम समुद्वहन्तः ।
आसन् प्रवृत्ते कलिधर्मकाले
कालीवने केचन भूमिपालाः ॥ *v.*54

The foremost of these kings who ruled in Kālīvana was one named Śāhasika. When in an advanced age, he bestowed his royal fortune in an ascetic named Vāmadeva[24] by way of *gurudakshiṇā*, and started for the conquest of the whole world. He roamed over the whole earth, conquering all countries, which submitted to him as soon as he applied the string to his bow. Once upon a time as the sun was kissing the western direction the king reached the town of Tripurī.

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विधास्यतस्साहसमानुचर्या-
च्छायामापिच्छेत्तुमिवास्य रात्रौ ।
विरोचने चुम्बति पश्चिमायां (शां)
पपात जातु त्रिपुरी पुरस्तात् । *v.* 100

Suddenly there was a storm and the clouds, intercepting all light, roared with thunder. In the midst of this the king heard a loud cry. Proceeding in the direction of it. he came upon a deep pit near the town of Tripurī, which was known as a cemetery(v. 106). The next four verses (vv. 107-110), two of which (vv. 108 and 109) are much mutilated, probably contained an appeal for rescue of a victim who was being immolated before a god. This god was probably Śiva as he is described in verse 107 as one who had devoured Kāla, Kāma (i.e. Madana), the three cities (of the Asuras) as well as hundreds of crores of Brahmāṇḍas. In a subsequent verse (v. 118) he is called Mahākāla. Hearing the piteous appeal, Sāhasika rushed forward and sternly asked the immolators to set the victim free.

[अरे वराकाः करुणा*] प्रलापं
भाग्यैर्दृशो गोचरमागतं मे ।
विमुञ्चैतवं द्रुतमन्यथा व-
स्तदा *v*— — *v v* — *v* दस्मिन् ॥ *v.* 112

The Ajmer edition ends here abruptly, with the copists's remark अत उर्ध्वं त्रिचतुराणि पत्राणि गलितानीति भाति being given in a footnote. The Bibliotheca Indica edition, however, gives nineteen more verses, of which only one is completely preserved, while the rest are mutilated more or less. Still, they give a fair indication of their contents. It seems that Sāhasika then entered the temple, which is described in the commentary on v. 115 as Mahākāl-āyatana (i.e. the temple of Mahākāla). He accosted the immolators. His words were, as it were, echoed in the thunder of the clouds. At this the men became extremely unnerved and, though the king did not strike them, their weapons fell down from their hands. Sāhasika then assured the victim that he would save him. The king was then accosted by a Rākshasa (Yātudhāna) who had evidently arranged for the human sacrifice. He asked the king why he was interfering with the the rites of those like himself who were

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accustomed to partake of the remnants of the human sacrifice offered to the god Mahākāla.[25] The king then replied that though they might find it difficult to give up their daily rite, they should, by way of hospitality to him who had approached their dwelling, give up the victim who had sought his protection and whom he must protect. As the next two verses (123-124) are much mutilated, it is not possible to say what the Rākshasa said in reply, but V. 125 and its commentary, both of which are partly mutilated, indicate that he attempted to attack the king, sanatching a sword from the hand of his attendant,[26] but the king ultimately struck him dead and offered his body to the god (Mahākāla).[27] As he fell down, his followers took to their heels. The next four verses (vv. 127-130) seem to give the words of a goddess. She seems to say that she herself had prompted Vāmadeva (to ask for the king's original kingdom by way of *gurudakshiṇā*) so that the king would roam about for fresh conquests and would rid the world of the Rākshasas.[28] She says further that the king had in a way outstone Śiva; for while the god had to convert the Mandāra mountain etc., into an arrow etc., in his fight with the Asuras in order to gain possession of their three cities, he (i.e. the king) had conquered Tripuri without any effort.[29] She says next that she would always dwell on the king's sword together with Kīrti (Fame) and Lakshmī (Fortune) as he would proceed to conquer the whole world extending to the ocean, using the town of Tripurī as his capital.[30] The next verse contains the name Karpuradevī in a mutilated form. Perhaps, the goddess told Sāhasika that in his family Kausalyā would incarnate herself as Karpuradevī and would give birth to sons who would be incarnations of Rāma and Lakshmaṇa. The subsequent portion consisting of nearly fifteen verse which is now completely lost may have contained the description of Karpuradevī as well as of some of her nearest ancestors such as her father Achala (or Tejala).

From the short account given above it will be seen that the story of Sāhasika given in the *Pṛithvīrājavijaya* is wholly imaginary. The poet may have received some suggestion for it from Bhavabhūti's *Mālatīmādhava*, in which Mādhava rescues Mālatī from the clutches of a Kāpālika ascetic named Aghoraghaṇṭa, who wanted to sacrifice

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her to the goddess Karālā. This story of Sāhasika can hardly be utilised as a source of sober history.

Even granting that the story of Sāhasika has a substratum of truth, it can hardly refer to the age of Gāṅgeyadeva or Karṇa; for its incidents are said to have happened before the establishment of Kalachuri power at Tripuri. The *kāvya* explicitly states that like his ancestors, Sāhasika also was at first ruling over Kālīvana. The poet gives us no clue about the location of this Kālīvana. He had perhaps heard of the tradition that the Kalachuris, in an earlier age, were ruling from Kālanjara and by Kālīvana he meant to refer to Kālanjara. It may be noted in this connection that the *Matsyapurāṇa* (XIII, 32) describes Kālanjara (or Kālinjara)[31] as the abode of Kālī. Be that as it may, the story of Sāhasika cannot, in any case, pertain to the age of Gāṅgeyadeva;for the Kalachuries were ruling from Tripuri for at at least eight generations before the time of Gāṅgeyadeva.[32]

The two incidents in the story, viz., the gift, by Sāhasika, of his original kingdom to the ascetic Vāmadeva and his subsequent conquest of Tripurī are so intimately connected that Dr. Sircar cannot accept the former only as historical and reject the latter as imaginary. Otherwise, it will be a case of *ardha-jaratīya-nyāya*. Besides, if Gāṅgeya had actually made a gift of his whole kingdom to a Śaiva ascetic, and therefore ruled only as his Viceroy or deputy, he would have given some indication of it at least in the Piawan rock inscription[33] which was incised in K. 789 i.e. only about three years before his death. The inscription is unfortunately rather indistinct, but the spacing in the extant portion clearly shows that there could not have been any reference to Vāmadeva with his imperial titles as in later copper-plate grants. It is also surprising that such a unique act of devotion and self-sacrifice should find no mention in the numeruous eulogistic verses about Gāṅgeya in the grants of his descendants.

Jayānaka, the author of *Pṛithvīrājavijaya*, had as shown above, only an imperfect knowledge of the history of the Kalachuris of Tripurī. He had perhaps heard that the contemporarray Kalachuri king described himself as Vāmadeva-pād-ānudhyāta. He may have thought that Vāmadeva was the guru of the earliest ruler of the

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dynasty who shifted his capital from Kālanjara to Tripurī To account for this shifting of the seat of government he seems to have imagined the incident, of the gift of his whole kingdom by king Sāhasika to the Śaiva ascetic Vāmadeva by way of *guru-dakshiṇā*. It cannot, however, give a plausible explanation why the descendants of Sāhasika should continue to meditate on his feet; for he was the recipient of the kingdom of Kālīvana and not of that of Tripurī which Sāhasika later won by valour.

Thus Dr. Sircar's theory that Vāmadeva was a Śaiva ascetic and the later Kalachuris were ruling as his deputies is supported neither by the Malkapuram inscription nor by the *Pṛithvīrājavijaya*. The only plausible explanation of *Vāmadeva-pād-ānudhyāta* is that suggested by Dr. Kilehorn, viz., that Vāmadeva was an early Kalachuri king. In the time of Kilehorn, however, there was no early inscription of the dynasty mentioning his name. Such a record has since come to notice. The Saugor stone inscription which I have since edited[34] mentions the reigning king a Śaṅkaragana I of Tripurī as mediatating on the feet of the *Paramabhaṭṭāraka Mahārājādhirāja Parameśvara Vāmarājadeva*. Doubts have indeed been expressed about my reading *Vāmarājadeva*. other readings suggested being *Vāgharāja, Vāvarāja Vāparāja* and *Voparāja*.[35] None of these names, however, occurs in any other Kalachuri inscription, while the name Vāmarājadeva occurs, in the form Vāmadeva, in several records of the dynasty. As the inscription has been exposed to the sun and rain for more than a thousand years, some of its letters have become indistinct. I have shown, however, that there are traces of a loop to the left of the second *akshara* in Vāmarāja, which indicates that it is *ma* and not *va*[36]. Dr. Sircar makes much of the round back of the letter, but that the writer wrote both the round and angular forms of the same letter will be evident from a comparison of the letter *p* in *Parameśvara* and *putra*, both in line 3 of that inscripption.

The mention of Vāmarājadeva in the Saugor inscription which on palaeographic grounds, can be referred to about the end of the eighth century A. D. shows that he was a very early king. The reason why his name is mentioned with veneration in several Kalachuri records seems to be that he was the founder of the northern

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Kalachuri Empire.[37] Originally he seems to have been ruling from Kālañjara. This is shown by the description in the Kahla plates that an illustrious Kalachuri prince established himself at Kālañjara, from where he raided and conqered Ayomukha (modern Pratapgadh and Rai Bareli Districts, in U.P.)[38] He later gave his northern kingdom to his younger brother Lakshmaṇarāja, the founder of the Sarayūpāra branch. The name of the elder brother is not mentioned in the Kahla plates, but it would not be wrong to conjecture that it was Vāmarājadeva. That the Kalachuris were once ruling from Kālañjara is also shown by the title *Kālañjara-pura-var-ādhīśvara* assumed by the Kalachuryas of South India.[39] Bhīmaṭa, whom Rājaśekhara describes as *Kālañjara-pati*, probably belonged to the Kalachuri dynasty. Similar names occur in the genealogy of the Kalachuris of Sarayūpāra.[40]

I shall next deal with what Dr. Sircar takes to be inaccuracies in my article on the Saugor stone inscription of Śaṅkaragaṇa I.[41] With reference to my statement that Buddharāja was finally defeated by Pulakeśin II, Dr. Sircar says that he was defeated by Maṅgaleśa and not by Pulakeśin II. This is indeed very surprising. That Buddharāja continued to rule for at least ten years after his defeat by Maṅgaleśa is shown by his Vadner and Sarsavni plates.[42] Thereafter, the three Mahārāshṭras which were included in his kingdom were annexed by Pulakeśin. The enemy from whom he conquered this extensive territory is not named in the Aihole inscription, but it is easy to conjecture that it must have been Buddharāja, who is the last known king of the Kalachuri dynasty ruling over that region. Surely, Buddharāja did not make a gift of it to Pulakeśin as Sāhasika is said to have done to the ascetic Vāmadeva !

Another alleged inaccuracy pointed by Dr. Sircar is as follows. He says that Śaṅkaraṅgaṇa of the Saugor inscription was a descendant of Buddharāja who had established himself in both West and East Malwa, and not of Vāmarājadeva. Now, the only evidence of Buddharāja's rule in West and East Malwa is his issue of the Vadner and Sarsavni plates. Both of these were granted from his victorious camp (*vijaya-skandhāvāra*) fixed at Vaidiśa (Vidiśā) and Ānandapura (Vaḍnagar) respectively. The villages granted by these plates

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were situated in Mahārāshṭra and Gujrat respectively, and not in Malwa, West or East. There is no other indication of Buddharāja's rule over Malwa. On the other hand, there is clear indication that Malwa soon slipped from Buddharāja's hands. Within six years from the date of Buddharāja's Sarsavni plates, we find Khara-graha I of Valabhī making two grants dated G. 297 from his camp at Ujjain[43]. That Buddharāja's successors had to remain in a subordinate position for some time is shown by the statement in several Chālukya grants that the Haihayas were reduced to a state of servitude similar to that of the Gaṅgas and others who had already become the hereditary servants of the Early Chālukyas.[44] It was evidently some adventurous prince like Vāmarāja who turned his attention to the north and carved out a kingdm for himself at at Kālanjara. Inscriptional and literary evidence for this has already been set forth. It is not a mere flight of fancy like Dr. Sircar's theory that the *Paramabhaṭṭāraka Mahārājādhirāja Parameśvara*, Vāmadeva was Śaiva ascetic who received the gift of the whole Kalachuri kingdom from Gāṇgeyadeva.

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1 It is also noticed in a very early record of the dynasty viz. the the Saugor stone inscription of Śaṅkaragaṇa I, recently edited by me. *Ep. Ind.* XXVII, pp. 163 f. and *C. I. I.*, vol. IV, pp. 174 f.For a discussion of it, see below.

2 See. e. g., Nos. 48, 50, 52, 53, 56, 57, 61, 63, 65, 68, 70 and Suppl. No. 4 in C. I. I., Vol. IV.,

3 *C. I. I.*, Vo. IV., No. 72, pp. 369 f.

4 *Ind. Ant.*, Vol . XVII, p. 232.

5 *J.A. H. R. S.*, Vol. IV, p. 157.

6 *Ind. Hist. Quart.*, Vol. XIV, pp. 96 f.

7 *Bhaṭṭāraka* is usually used in connection with the names of gods and ascetics. Some Śaiva ascetics may have assumed the title of *Paramabhaṭṭāraka*, but *Mahārājādhirāja* and *Parameśvara* are rarely, if ever, used in such cases. Dr. Sircar himself did not know of any instance of it until recently. That the heads of monasteries are now called *Mahārājas* in North India is no valid argument. Even cooks

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are called by that title in North India. Still no head cook is known as *Māhārajādhirāja.*

8 The Malkapuram inscription gives the following genealogy of the Śaiva ascetics:—Sadbhāvaśambhu his disciple Somaśambhu his disciple Vāmaśambhu. See *J. A. H. R. S.*, Vol., IV, 157. I leave it to the scholars to decide whether Vāmaśambhu was the third in spiritual descent from Sadbhāvaśambhu as Dr. Sircar maintains or second as I have stated,

9 Cf. [क्षीय*] मानवयास्स साहसिकस्तपरिचने वामदेवनाम्ने निजराजलक्ष्मीं गुरुदक्षिणायै दत्त्वा सर्वां भूमि जेतुं प्रस्थितवान् ।

10 *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. XXX, pp. 46 f.

11 *C. I. I.*, Vol. IV, Nos. 56 and 57, v. 11.

12 Canto IV, vv. 79 f.

13 Cf. देवी व्यराजत कुमारविनायकाभ्यां
कर्पूरदेव्यचलराजसुता सुताभ्याम् । Canto IX, *v.* 87.
Com.—अचलराजस्य पुत्री कर्पूरदेवी etc.

14 Cf. तनयां स सपाद लक्षपुण्यैरुपयेमे त्रिपुरीपुरन्दरस्य । cants VII *v.* 16·

15 See my articles on the historical data in the *Navasāhasānkacharita* and the *Viddhaśālabhanjikā. C. I. I.*, Vol. IV, Intro; pp. cxvii f. and Ixxix f. respectively.

16 *C. I. I.*, Vol. IV, pp. 186 f.

17 Cf. मयि प्रवृत्ते हिमसोदराणि यशांसि विस्तारयितुं नृपस्य । Canto I *v.* 32.

18 *J. B. B. R. A. S.*, extra No. XXXIV A, P. 63.

19 Cf. the copyists' remark after *v.* 112—अत ऊर्ध्वं त्रिचतुराणि पत्राणि गलितानीति भाति ।

20 These verses have not been numbered in Dr. Belvalkar's edition. I have numbered them from v. 112 onwards for facility of references. I have tried to supply lost letters in some cases with the help of the commentary. They are marked with an asterisk in the quotations cited below.

21 Canto VI, V. 35.

22 Canto VI. vv. 43-48.

23 Cf. कलिर्ज़जागार चुरिक्रियायां कृतक्य दत्तामय राषराजा तेनास्य पृथ्वी-वलयप्रसिद्धिप्राचुर्यमूहे कलिचुयुपाख्या ।

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24 Cf.· [क्षीय*] माणवयास्स साहसिकस्तपक्चिने वामदेवनाम्ने निजराज-लक्ष्मी गुरुदक्षिणायै दत्त्वा सर्वां भूमिं जेतु प्रस्थितवान् ।

25 Cf. यः श्री महाकालनरोपहारयज्ञावशिष्टाज्ञाननित्यनिष्ठान् ।
.. .. *v.* 118

26 [आक्षिप्य च स्वानु*] चरस्य रक्ताद्यावत्स कौक्षेयकमा [चकर्ष*] ।
.. .. *v.* 125

27 एकप्रहारेण राजा तमेवेश्चरोपहारमकरोत् । Con. on *v.* 125

28 Cf. वामदेवमहं प्रजारक्षार्थेऽचोदयम् । Com. on *v.* 128

29 Cf. — — v — — v v लेन च प्राक्
त्रैलोक्यसारेण महीधरेण ।
त्रिलोचनोऽपि त्रिपुरी जिघा (गा) य
त्व [या*] v — — v पुरी जितेयम् ।। *v.* 127.
Com·—त्वया पुनर्यत्न विनेयं त्रिपुरी जिता ।

30 Cf. एतामधिष्ठाय करिष्य [तसो*]
[असा*]गरं । हस्तगतां धरित्रीम् ।
अहं कृपाणे कृतसंनिधाना
कीर्तिश्रियोर्मध्यगता [भवेयम्*] ।। *v.* 130

31 The name Kālanjaran vana occurs in the *Matsya purāṇa*, 181, 27, The purāṇa describes Kālanjar as the abode of Kāli Cf. काली कालञ्जरे गिरौ । M. P. 13. 32.

32 See the genealogy of the Kalchuris of Tripuri. in *C. I. I.*, Vol. IV, Intro. p. exci.

33 *Ibid.*, pp. 632 f.

34 *Ep. Ind.*, Vol . *xxvii*, pp. 163 f. *C. I. I.*, Vol. IV, pp. 174 f.

35 *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. XXX, p. 46, n. 2.

36 *C. I. I.*, Vol. IV, p. 175, n. 5. See also Plate XXIX.

37 Dr. Sircar's objection that this Vāmarāja's name is not mentioned in other early inscriptions of the Kalachuris of Tripuri has not much weight. As shown above, the expression Vāmadevapādānudhyāta generally occurs in copper-plate grants and no early grants of the dynasty have yet been discovered. Besides. this argument like a double-edged sword will cut the ground from under the feet of Dr. Sircar himself. The name of Vāmadeva is not mentioned in

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several stone records incised after the reign of Gāngeya. See e.g. Nos. 49, 51, 58, 59, 60, 62, 64, 66, 67, 69, and 71 in C. I. I., Vol IV. Some of these were official records of the Kalachuris themselves.

38 *C. I. I.*, Vol. Iv. p. 386.

39 *Ibid.*, *Vid.*, Vol. IV, Intro., p. Ixix and n. 5.

40 See the genealogy of the Kalachuris of Sarayūpāra in *C. I.* Vol. IV, Intro., p. cxcii.

41 *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. XXX, p. 51.

42 *C. I. I.*, Vol. IV, pp. 47 f. and pp. 51 f.

43 *Ibid.*, Vol. IV, Intro., p. Ixix.

44 *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. XIX, p. 84.

ROLE OF THE SECRET SERVICE IN ANCIENT INDIA

By

Dr. Bimal Kanti Majumdar.

All modern states have their organisations of secret service, and Ancient India is no exception. Even in the tribal state of the Vedic Age we note the existence of secret service or the spy system for the purpose of collecting information necessary for the safety and well being of the state. Thus, what is called Civil espionage or the system of employing secret agents to gather information in time of peace is supposed to be as old as the Vedas.[1] We hear of spies (Spaśa) being appointed by the Vedic King to watch over the conduct of the people. The Epic, Purāṇic, Arthaśāstra and Dharmaśāstra literatures of our country refer again and again to spies (caras) and envoys (dūtas). The earliest traces of military espoinage have become transparent in the period represented by the Rāmāyaṇa and the Mahābhārata, both of them being war-epics. Rāma enquires of Bharata if he was fully informed of the eighteen tirthas (state functionaris) of foreign countries through spies.[2] The Mahābhārata[3] has discussed in full the employment, qualification, stationing and marching of spies. The Arthaśāstra of Kauṭilya is a mine of valuable information in this respect. The Dharma-śāstras touch upon the subject with care and some detail.[4]

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Kauṭilya, a writer of Arthaśāstra, devotes two chapters[5] to the enumeration, definition and organisation of spies. Another section of his work deals with the Diplomatic service, especially the functions of envoys (diplomatic agents), to send messages to foreign countries or neighbouring states.

The envoys are clarified as under:—

(a) Ambassadors vested with full discretionary powers.
(b) Envoys with limited powers and
(c) Those who carried a definite message.

A clear and regular diplomatic intercourse between different states is envisaged in Kauṭilya's statement on the mission of envoys. The statal circle (Maṇḍala) was specially imagined to carry on inter-state relations and adopt to the traditional six-fold policy, vis., Sandhi, Vigraha, Yāna, etc.

The functions of spies (caras) in Ancient India were manifold. Their recruitment was made from all classes and men of all descriptions, including Brāhmaṇas. Their sphere of activity was wide. The Cara of Kauṭilya corresponds, to some extent, to the sixth class of classical writers, viz., that of Megasthenes. There is not the slightest doubt that the spy system is an old institution. The Arthaśāstra of Kauṭilya is elaborate in its treatment and emphatic about its use. It has, therefore, given rise to some theories about the real nature of the espionage system as practised in all times and throughout the whole range of India's ancient history, Kauṭilya(if his system is accepted as the standard) includes in a chapter on Samgrāmika spies, as the auxiliary limbs of the fighting forces. He mentions spies of various categories, viz,, (1) those who collected information about the enemy's strength or the disposition of his forces;[6] those who were well-versed in Kūṭayuddha (battle of intrigue, diplomacy ?), who incited enemy forces to revolt, spread false rumours and who set fire to the enemy's camp and murdered the enemy leaders whenever there was an opportunity. This had led one writer to conclude that 'in the work of espoinage all methods were admissible—spying, lying, bribing, poisoning, women's wiles and the assassin's knife.'

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As the Arthaśāstra gives details about spies both mobile and stationary and their various activities, both open and secret, the espionage as prevalent in the age to which Kauṭilya belongs (the period varies from 4th century B.C. to 2nd century A.D. according to scholars), has come in for a good deal of criticism and some observations have been made about it. Dr. V. A. Smith[7] seems to believe that 'intrigue, spies, winning over the enemy's people, siege and assault' had much to do with the creaion of the Maurya empire and the theory of politics ex-pounded in the Arthaśāstra is substantially identical with that of 'The Prince'. In plain words, it was Machiavellian. The learned historian further quotes Bāṇa to prove how detestable the Kauṭilīyan principle was to the poet of the seventh century A. D. who has described the Science of Kauṭilya as 'merciless in its precepts and rich in cruelty'.

A few points for consideration in connection with this ancient political institution may thus be put forward, the over-all picture of Kauṭilīyan espionage was not perhaps applicable with equal exactness to all the periods of Ancient India. The system was not meant exclusively for the extension and maintenance of the authority of the state. The means did not always justify the end. In simple language, it was not Machiavellian in spriti. "The function of the secret service," writes Dr. A.L. Basham,[8]" was not confined to the suppression of criticism and sedition, and it was looked on not as a mere machiavellian instrument for maintaining power, but an integral part of the state machinary." Another European scholar[9] seems to share the same view. He does not consider it to be 'a product of the Machiavellism of Kauṭilya,— it is an application of Dharma to national defence.

The general treatment accorded to envoys in certain periods of ancient Indian chronicle was dictated by good sense and moderation. The Mahābhārata[11]. for example, interdicts the killing of an envoy. All ancient writers on political science and art of government were not dark politicians, ready to recommend security and consolidation of royal power by unscrupulous and violent means. Inspite of some occasional deviations from strict morality in the domain of statecraft as in the Arthaśāstra and the Great Epic, the espionage system in

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Ancient India formed only the necessary part of the governmental organisation and was not at least as loathsome as the Krypteia of ancient Sparta, the Third Section of the Czar's private chancellery and the German gestapo of recent memory.

1. R. V. I. 24. 13 A. V. VI. 4. 3.
2. Ayodhyā Kāṇḍa, 100. 36
3. Śāntiparva, 85 26-28, C-o Agni Purana 241. 1-14.
4. Manu. Chap. 7. 63.
5. Bk I, Chap. XI and XII.
6. Kauṭilya's Arthaśāstra, Bk. XII—, Chapters 2, 3 and 4.
7. Dr. P. C. Chakravarty : The Art of War in Ancient India.
8. Oxford History of India, p. 84
9. The Wonder that was India, p. 122.
10. Louis Renou: The Civilisation in India, p. 104.
11. Śāntiparva 98. 26, 27.

THEORY OF TWO KOSALAS IN NORTHERN INDIA

By
Shri Vishuddhanond Pathak

Certain scholars believe that in ancient times there were two Kośalas in north India itself. According to them, the two portions were respectively called Uttar and Dakshiṇa Kośalas and Sarayū was the dividing line between the two. Their opinion that Srāvastī and Kuśavatī were the respective capitals of the two portions, however, falls through once the details are worked out. There is no doubt about the fact of Srāvastī's being the capital of Kosala (Uttara). But Kuśavatī, if it has to be placed north of the Vindhyas cannot be identified with modern Kasiya now in the new Deoriya district of Uttar Pradesh. It is the Kusinara of the Mahāparinibbāṇa Sūtta and Kusavati of the Mahasudassana Sūtta of the Digha Nikāya Kusavati i.e. Kasaya is far north of the Sarayū. (Ghaghra) river and so it cannot be said to have been the capital of any portion of Kosala south of Sarayū.

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The second alternative regarding the indentification of Kuśavatī is supplied by Vālmiki's Rāmāyaṇa and the Purāṇas. It is stated in the Rāmāyaṇa that Rāma divided his hereditary kingdom into two parts. Kuśa was established in Kośala, i.e. Dakshiṇa Kośala with Kuśavatī as his capital, which lay beyond the Vindhyas and Lava was settled in Uttara i. e. Uttara Kośala with Srāvastī as the seat of his government. The Purāṇas support the Rāmāyaṇa and they also inform that Kuśavatī lay to the south of the Vindhyāchala. They also make independent references to Uttara Kośala, which extended on both the sides of the river Sarayū. Kālidāsa's descrip tions in the Raghuvaṅśa are also in accord with those of the Rāmāyaṇa and the Purāṇas.

In conclusion it can be said that Kośala of the North India was never divided into portion with two independent capitals and having Sarayū as the wedge. The myth of two Kośalas in the north itself is based on a confused reading of the relevent texts.

SOCIAL VALUES OF THE LOKĀYATA SCHOOL

By

Shri S. N. Athavale

This paper is an essay at bringing out the importance of the Lokāyata or the Cārvāka School of thought,in ancient India, in a context other than pure metaphysical thought. An attempt is made to point out that the School stood for certain positive values of life, which are essentially of a human and social bearing. They advocated right means of livelihood like agriculture, trade and politics and denounced wrong means like ritualism and priesthood. They were also the champions of social justice and disregarded all distinctions made on the basis of caste or sex. Many observations of the kind suggest the possibility of a sound social philosophy of the Cārvāka School.

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THE ĀNANADA GOTRA PROBLEM

By

M. Rama Rao M.A., Ph. D.

Kings describing themselves as belonging to the Ānanda gotra ruled over Āndhrapatha or cosatal Āndhradeśa, south of the Krishṇā, during the post-Ikshvāku and pre-Cālukyan period. The history of these kings bristles with problems which require careful re-examination.

The Ānanda gotra kings are known from two c. p. grants and from one stone record. Of these the Maṭṭepāḍu plates issued from Kandarapura, register the gift of the village of Kangūra by Dāmodaravarman. The Goranṭla plates register the gift of the village of Tānlikoṇḍa by Attivarman. The stone inscription found in the village of Cezerla in the Narsaraopet taluk of the Guntur district, records the gifts made by a grandson (daughter's son) of Kandara. The two c.p. grants do not state how their donors were related to each other. The relation of these two kings to Kandara and his grandson is equally unknown. Thus the mutual relation of these kings is one problem. The next problem relates to the age of these kings. The Cezerla inscription mentions a 'Lord of the Krishna' and his identity is another problem.

Among previous writers, Dr. D. C. Sircar took only Attivarman and Dāmodaravarman into consideration and left the two kings of the Cezerla inscription and the founder of the family out of account. Dr. Gopalachari took Kandaṛa into account but identified him with the Kandara of the Cezerla record. These two writers could not thus evolve the complete genealogy of the Ānanda gotra kings.

The key to the main problem lies in the two c. p. grants. Dr. Sircar has righly assigned both of them to about the middle of the fourth century A.D. on paleographical grounds;particularly on the ground that the characters of these grants bear resemblence to those of the Ikṣhvāku inscriptions of Nāgārjunakoṇḍa. Dr. K. R. Subrahmanyam has assigned these kings summarily to the sixth century A. D. Dr.

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Gopalachari finds a paleographical similarity between the Ānanda gotra record and a record of the Pallava king, Mahendravarman I, incised on two sides of the same slab at Cezerla. Postulating in interval of thrity or thirtyfive years between the two he assigns of the Ānanda gotra record to 500-535 A. D. on the basis of further paleographical similarities between the Maṭṭepāḍu and Goranṭal plates and early pallava charters he assigns Dāmodaravarman to a date after 550 A. D. and Attivarman to 650-675 A. D. Apart from several improper and unjustifiable paleographical comparisons brought in by this writer the chronology postulated by him is in direct conflict with certain very well known facts of contemporary history. The Early Cālukyan king, Pulakeśin II, conquered coastal Āndhradeśa before 620 A. D. and that he gifted a village in Karmarāshṭra in 631 A. D. pulakeśin's brother, Kubja-Visṇu founded the independent kingdom of Veṅgī in 624 A. D. Karmarāsra was included in this Vishṇuvardhana's dominions. Jayasimha succeeded Vishṇuvardhana and ruled till 673 A. D. and his dominions extended up to the Nellore district in the south. Thus it is impossible that Attivarman could have ruled in the Guntur district between 650-675 A. D. The Pallava king, Mahendravarman I, ruled over the region to the south of the Krishna between 600-618 A. D. and was subsequently defeated and driven away from this region by Pulakeśin II. Before Mahendravarman, his father Simhavishṇu ruled 575-600 A. D. It is not therefore possible to locate Dāmodaravarman in the latter half of the sixth century A. D.

Three important points must be taken into consideration in any attempt to solve the Ānanda gotra problem. Firstly, the Cezerla inscription is decidedly later than the two c. p. grants. The grants mention a Kandara who flourished before the donors of these grants. Thus there were five rulers in the line, Kandara I, Dāmodaravarman, Attivarman, Kandara II and his grandson.

A few facts from the contemporary history of coastal Āndhradeśa throw useful light on the Ānanda gotra problem. The Sālankāyanas ruled over Veṅgī during 275-450 A. D. Two grants of the last rulers of this family were found at Kanteru in the northern part of the Guntur district and register gifts made in the Kuḍūrahāra which

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comprised the taluks of Masulipatam and Divi in the Krishna district and the taluks of Tenali and Repalle in the Guntur district. It is thus certain that northern taluks of the Guntur district were under the Sālankāyanas between 425-450 A. D. Attivarman whose plates were found at Goranṭla in the Guntur taluk and who gifted Tāṭikoṇḍa in the same taluk could not therefore have flourished between 425-450 A. D. Mādhavavarman I of the Vishṇukuṇḍin family who flourished in the first half of the sixth century A. D. penetrated up to Vipparla in the Narasaraopet taluk in the Guntur district and stationed his grandson as viceroy at Trikuṭa or Koṭappakoṇḍa in the same taluk. Thus there is an interval of fifty years between 450-500 A. D. and the reigns of Dāmodarvarman and Attivarman may be located in this interval. Among the early Pallava rulers, Skandavarman II is said to have a got a kingdom by his valour. His son, Vīravarman, had to fight many battles and the next ruler Skandavarman III conquered Karmarāṣṭra, and penetrated as far a north as Tāmbrāpa or Chebrol in the northern part of the Guntur district. The Pallava expansion into the northern taluks of the Guntur districts has to be ascribed to the period immediately following the last two Sālankāyana kings. If so, there must be some enemy from whom Skandavarman obtained a kingdom and with whom the next Pallava ruler, Vīravarman, had to fight many battles. This enemy can be none other than Kandara I. This Kandara must have taken advantage of the troubles of the Pallavas created partly by the invasion of Samudragupta and partly by the eruption of the Kadambas under Mayūraśarman. In view of these facts the chronology of the Ānanda gotra kings may be stated as follows: Kandara I 375-400, Attivarman and Dāmodaravarman 450-500 and Kandara II and his grandson 550-575 A. D.

One more item deserves consideration in this connection. Some writers and in the Ānanda gotra inscription at Cezerla a Pallava to whom Kandara II gave his daughter in marriage. Actually, the inscription states that Kandara fought a battle at Dhānyakaṭaka with a 'Lord of the Krishṇa" In the latter half of the sixth century it was the Vishṇukuṇḍin that was the ruler of the territory in the northern half of the Guntur district and not the Pallava. Pallava rule was

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confined at this time to Karmarāṣṭra in the south. The Cezerla record also describes Kandara's enemy as an Āndhra ruler. The Viṣṇukuṇḍins were known to their contemporaries as Āndhra rulers. It is therefore certain that Kandara fought with the sucessor of Viṣṇukuṇḍin Mādhavavarman I and took possession of the northern half of the Guntur district and not with the Pallavas.

1. *E. I.* XVII, pp. 327-330.
2. *I. A.* IX, pp. 102-103.
3. *S. I. I.* VI, no. 594.
4. *Successors of the Sātavāhanas*, Ch. III-Sec. ii.
5. *Early History of Andhradeśā*, p. 186.
6. *Āndhra Buddhism* etc., p. 109.
7. *Earl. Hist. Āndhra*, p. 187.
8. *Ibid* pp. 190-91 and 194.
9. See the Kopparam plates in *E. I.*, XVIII pp. 257-60.
10. *JAHRS.* V, pp. 21-32 and *E. I.* XXV, pp. 42-47.
11. *E. I.* XVII, pp. 337-39.
12. *Ibid* XVI, pp. 249-52.

"THE BUDDHIST IMPLICATIONS OF CERTAIN PECULIARITIES FOUND WITH THE MAHĀ-ARCI-SKANDHA FIGURE WHICH APPEARS ON THE COINS OF THE KUSAN DYNASTY."

Prof. Shinya Kasugai, Buddhist University of Japan

When we study Mahayana Buddhist Texts we must trace their contents to the social background of the respective sūtra.

(a) The Sun-god of Multan (brought there from Taxila) is related to some archaeological material, preserved in Japan. The statue which appears on the coins can be identified with Avalokiteśvara.

(b) Hyrkodes coinsa nd Kushāno-Sasanian coins of Sīstan can be linked up with the Buddhist Gandhāra statues.

(c) Some Gandhāra statues can be referred to the *Sarvāstivāda Vinaya*. There appears the scene, known as "the Miracle of Srāvasti,"

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From such monographical accounts I shall naturally proceed to the next stage, namely, I shall compare the Amitābha and Maitreya Buddhas of the Indian Buddhist Documents with my archaeological material.

"THE HSIANG-SZU BHIKKHU (THE SHAM BHIKKHU) OR THE GROUP OF DABBAMALLA."

Prof. Shinya Kasugai, Buddhist University of Japan

Sister Ryoshun Kabata
Buddhist Cultural Institute, Kyoto.

In Buddhist Mahāyāna Texts we find many allusions to this monk and his group. These must be isolated and lined up in two ways, viz. they must be compared with one another and they must be referred to their social background.

(a) The first disciples of the Buddha are found in the S. 14. 15 (5). (Kammam) to consist of 8 persons while in the Chinsese S.A. 16 (No. 447) the number of 13 is reached, which in the A.I. 14.1-7 amounts to 75, and in the Chinese A.A. even to as much as 220 disciples.

(b) We see the Dabbamalla appear after the Chinese S. A. and it will be found that the gradual development starts there.

(c) The Group of Dabbamalla forms one group in the Chinese *Sarvāstivāda Vinaya.*

(d) Already in the Tibetan version of the *Prajnapti-pada-śāstra* it is mentioned. (I am printing this text in Japan now.) The *Prajnapti-pada* is the earliest philosophical work belonging to the Sarvāstivādins. It follows that the Buddhist Sangha was not always united even in the well-known sects,but that there was a gradual development to relatively well-defined bodies which had to be outlined. After I have finished these studies I shall do the next step and apply my critisim to the *Vinaya* accounts, also using the comparative method.

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BUDDHISM IN BENGAL POLITICS.

By

Dr. H. Vedantasastri

Born in the Sixth century at Kapilavastu, Lord Buddha preached a new faith, the catholicity, universality and the democratic idea of which attracted a large number of adherents all over the continent of Asia. The state, in which has was born, had republican constitution and his father was the president. In search of Nirvāṇa and after having attained the same, he toured a good number of states around his paternal one and most of them had republican form of Government. A Kshatriya prince, as he was, he was highly impressed with the democratic method of political corporations and transferred it to the new order of the brotherhood of monks he called into existence, the Buddhistic sangha. The sangha was run on democratic system of sponsoring a proposal (Vijnapti) the Quorum (varga), the vote (chanda) and the voting tickets (śalākā)

In its early stage, the new faith made its way into Bengal and under the royal patronage of the Khaḍga dynasty, turned out to be the predominant religion there in the eighth century, when flourished Āchrayya Gauḍapada, who tried to combine the negative logic of the Buddhistic school with the positive one of the Upanisads.

With the fall of the Buddhistic Khaḍgas, came to the throne, the Chandras; the death of the east ruler of which threw Bengal into political chaos, the Matsyanyāya of Manu, in which prevailed the law of the jungle. People suffered; and to get rid of this, they elected Gopāla, a Buddhist, as their king the sole ruler of Bengal. Here begins the rule of the Buddhistic Pāla dynasty, which lasted about four hundered years; gave peace and prosperity to the country and raised its prestige.

Now where from came the inspiration for this election which is held to be a memorbale incident by historians of to-day ?

Election of king was current during the Vedic days, election of a President in republics was current during the days of the Buddha and Pāṇini and continued right upto the days of the Suṅgas and

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disappeared in the end of the eighth century, with the establishment of the Gupta Empire, the system of election became completly absolute, a thing of the past. Then where from did the inspiration come? To Meitseems, it came from the Buddhistic sangha. No doubt, the force of circumstances led the people to find a way out; but that the way long in the election of a king was realised from the democratic ideal of the Buddhist sangha, and Buddhism played an important role in Bengal politics in the eighth century.

THE BHANJA KINGS OF ORISSA.

By

Dr. N. K. Sahu

The Bhanja Kings of Orissa ruled from two separate territories namely Khinjali-mandala and Khijjinga Kotta. The common origin of the rulers of these two kingdoms is not yet satisfactorily proved. Khinjalimandala was divided into two parts with a common capital at Dhritipura. The early ruler of this territory are Yathasukhadeva, Mallagambhirdeva, Silabhanja, Satrubhanja and Ranabhanja. After Ranabhanja Khinjalimandala passed to the hands of the Somavasmsi rulers and Nettabhanja I, the son of Ranabhanja, shifted his headquarters from Dhritipura to the victorious Vanjulvaka and established a new territory which was named after Khinjali. Nettabhanja I, his son Silabhanja II, and grandson Vidyadharabhanja and Nettabhanja II, the son and successor of Vidyadharbhanja were famous rulers of the newly founded kingdom of Khinjali. Two sets of copper plates issued by Yasobhanja and his brother Jayabhanja, and discovered from Antirigam reveal the later history of the Bhanja rulers of Khinjali upto the 12th century A.D. A Baud charter issued by king Kanakabhanja indicates that the Bhanjas were not completely ousted from the original Khinjalimandala and they continued to rule over that Kingdom at least upto the 12th century A. D.

The early history of the Bhanja kings of Khijjinga-Kotta is known from two sets of Copper plates found in Bamanghaty. According to

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The Sun-god

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them Birabhadra, the progenitor of the family was born of the egg of a pea-hen and was brought up in the hermitage of Kotyasrama. In his family flourished Kottabhanja, his son Digabhanja and the latter's son Ranabhnaja, his son Digabhanja and the latter's son Ranabhanja. After Ranabhanja his son Rajabhanja aslo known as Vibhramatunga, Satrubhanja and Prithvibhanja came to the throne. But the history of Khijjingakotta remains obscure for a long period after him.

A RARE SŪRYA IMAGE FROM BARAUNI

By

Prof. Radhakrishna Chowdhary

The present image was discovered about two years ago and is now preserved in the G. D. College Historical Museum. The present image is remarkable in various ways. The prominent Kirtimukha conveys supreme reality. The study of the lower portion of the image in question is a bit problematical. Besides sacred thread, there is another ornament around the head. Besides usual attendants, other objects of the image worth study are the elephants and horses with riders in speed. The present image is decidely of the period when the foreign influence was on the wane but had not completely disappeared. The two legs are booted. The booted Sūrya is a peculiarity of the Gupta period while the sacred thread a common feature of the Pāla Age. Other items weigh more in favour of its being placed in between the Gupta and Pala period, and hence it can be tentatively assigned to a later Gupta age. A cririeal study can be possible only when it is compared with other-Bihar images in the background of other North Indian images.

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*THE HISTORICAL ASPECTS OF THE RĀMA AND BHARATA WAR LEGENDS.

By

Shri Ramprasad Majumdar.

Here I have tried to show that there existed different Rāmas and Sītās and two stages (if not more) of the Bharata war and that on chronological and synchronistic basis. These seem to get fused in later times. History in myths—yaska's support.

Yoga V. Rām I says:—"12 Vālmikis composed Rām; different Vyāsas composed M. B. for 7 times..II Rāmas, 6 Paraśurāmas.." Genealogies better constructed. Probable strata of Rāma Legends:- (1) No. I: Soma m. Sītā Sāvitri (cf chandra in Rāmachandra).(2) No. 7: Revati, W. O. Balarāma, and other c.s. of Krishṇa II cf. R Vc. Asura Rāma. (3) Rāvaṇa, Māndhātā, Sītā, Duśyanta (c. Vali II) etc. are in the same line (No. 33—)—all connected with Indra. (Rāma ?) (4) Paraśu-rāma G., ptole. R.V. Rsi, Killer of K. Arjuna. b. o. Krishṇa & preceptor of Karṇa, debated with a Rāma & Bhīshma He is son of Jamadagni (C. G. Viswā M.) Vashiṣṭha III, Haris C. etc). Co Bhārgava Chyavana or— Rcika (Ratnākara & Vālmīki are prob. of such families). Co Varuna ?

Here the underlined and Dhrshṭadyumma Krpa, b-in-law of Droṇa Vyāsa (27th?) etc. are Gen. C. Bhīshma talked with Varuni Bhrgu; Bhīma met Hanumān; a Vivaswan links, as sons, Karṇa Śani, c. of Ganega, writer of Vyāsa and a Yājnavalkya, II, etc... This (more if developed) shows characters common to Vs., Ps., & epics., & the earlier stratum on the Bharata War, fused or allied to the later.....(5) Margaveya Rama, c. of Parikshita Janamejaya, the earlier & thereby also of Saunaka Indrota etc. (No. 64). (6) No. 90. Acc. to Dasa R. J. Rāma married sister Sītā. 'Jānakī'—do' 'Janaka' or father ? c. Rāvaṇa X !

Anthropology or Philology-no bar to higher dates than-1500. B.C. Race & Migration theories are vague myths. I.E. phonology is also putting too much stress on scanty Aryan elements in E. langs

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Vs. etc. compiled by the 28th Vyāsa-possible. Gen some 100 synchronisms-seen, otherwise prob. nil. chart in a nutshell.

1 Manu VII	2 Manu VII	3 Manu VII	4 Budha	5 Budha	6 Budha	7 Misc
4. Nimi 26. . Śrā D. 27. DhaIrD & Sita II	3. Diṣṭa 33. Uavit m. Pulastya 35 Ravana	3. Ikswa .. .. 31. Jur. 32. Mandha	32. Ilina	34. Dvyeca 24. Vali II	41. Aja M. I	53. Jam. & Vas., Vyasa & yaj. V II 41. Aja M.-Aha-Kr. 57. „ II Dhrsta D.
	—600 B— C-V.	50 Haris C. 167 G. Siddhar.	56 Sudasa 181 Vimbisara	48 Karna	53 Viswa M.	....

*Adapted from my original Research Under C. U. & M. S. R. I. Both the epics are taken here as (i) characters like Parasurama Hanuman etc. are common, and as (ii) there may be little controversy on the main incidents etc. in the epic or Vc. lit.....c—Contemporary; Gen—Genealogically, I, (Bombay, N. S.) Nir. pur. 22; of '28 Vyasas..' of 5 Ps. & many births of Krishna & Arjuna in Gita IV. 1. 5.

ADHABHARA PLATES OF MAHA-NANNARAJA II.

By

Shri Balchandra Jain.

Adhabhara (also spelt Adbhar or Arbhar), about 40 miles from Bilaspur, is a village in Sakti tahsil of the Bilaspur district of Madhya Pradesh. It contains an old temple of *Devi* of which two ornamental doorways remain. One of these, the gateway of the enclosure, is very severe in outline. The other is the entrace of the shrine and has sculptured jambs like those of Rajim and Sirpur in Raipur district. On the corner of either jamb is a Nāga figure, whose tails run up the sides and along the lintel. Here they meet a little central figure which is perhaps that of Garuḍa. On the site of this temple is a hut containing an image of *mahishāsuramardinī* who is now worshipped as *Kāli*. The hut contains a Jain seated figure. The village has a num-

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ber of old tanks and the traces of old forts with moats round them.[1] There are fragmentary inscriptions which have been only partly deciphered. One of them mentions a Mahāśravana and a Kesari.[2] On 5-8-1954, when one Bodhram Bhatku Teli, a cultivator was digging earth in his Khasra No. 747 of that village, he found the present plates burried in the field. They were deposited in the sub-treasury at Sakti where they remained for several months. They are now acquired by the Deputy commissioner, Bilaspur and presented to the Central Museum. Nagpur.

The plates are three in number; the first and third are inscribed on one side and the second on both the sides. Their surface was corroded in some places and two letters *la* and *Ka* in the last line of the first plate have been partly damaged. The letters of the inscription are deeply engraved and show through in many places on the back of the third plate. Each plate measures 8" in length and 4.95" in breadth and about 1" in thickness. The middle plate is somewhat thicker than the others. Their rims are not raised, still the inscription is in a good state of preservation. About 1" from the middle of the proper right side of each plate, there is round hole ·6 in diameter, meant for the connecting ring which is not found with the plates. The weight of the three plates is $115\frac{1}{4}$ *totals*.

There are 27 lines in all; 8 on the first plate, 8 on the first side of the second plate and 4 on the third plate. The lower half portion of the last plate is blank; thus leaving the record incomplete.[3] The letters are neatly written and deeply engraved. Their average size is $\frac{1}{2}$". The *characters* are of the box-headed variety and very closely resemble those on the Ranjim and Baloda plates of Tivaradeva. The length of the medial i is denoted by a dot in the circle which denotes its short form; see *prakasibhuta* in 1.4, *Tivararajasya* in 1.7, *lakshmim* in 1.23, *durgati* in 1.25 and vaishṇavī in 1.27; the medial *ai* is tripartite; see sauryyadi in 1.3 and sankrantau in 1.18, the subscript *r* has in many places the same form as the vowel *ri*; see sri in 11 1, 7 and 9; the final form of occurs in 1.24; punctuation is denoted by a vertical line hooked at the top and followed by another vertical line. The language is Sanskrit and with exception of the three customary benedictory and imprecatory verses at the end, the

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last of which is incomplete, the whole record is in prose. It differs in expression at the beginning from the formal portions of the grants of Tivaradeva and Mahā-Śivagupta Bālārjuna. The inscription is somewhat carelessly written. The writer has for the instance used in many places the short for the long form of medial 1; see śrī in 11 1,7 and 9, *Kusali* in 1.10, *pida* in 1.15, *abhidhivate* in 1.21 andmahim in 1.22; *anusvāra* and visarga are superfuous at many places see sampadita in 1.3, lalamnti in 11.21-22, patamnti in 1.22, lakshmim mayu in 1.23, abhishtamm in 1.24 and sopanidhirah chatabhatah pravesya in 1.14 and abhivridhayeh in 1.15; the anusvara, visarga and final consonants are omitted in many cases; see vyasagitaschatr in 1.26, phala in 1.24 and eladvaya in 1.23; and Nannarāja in 1.10, sandhi and sameta in 1.14, upanayadbhi in 1.20 and nrisansa in 1.22; and brahmana in 1.11; b is sometimes used for v; see abhibriddhi in 1.15 and prativaslabymiti in 1.20; the anusvara is wrongly changed to n before a sibilant in vanasa 1.5 and to n before sa in nrisansa in 1.22 n is used for n at one place in punya in 1.15; one of the double d is omitted in udisya in 1.21 and etadvaya in 1.23, sandhi rules have not been followed in kusali ashṭadvāra in 1.10 and sankrantau udakapurvva in 1.18. As regards orthography, consonant precedng and following r is doubled in some cases, e.g., sauryya 1.3, mirmmala 11 4-5, sarvva 11.14, 15, pittro 11.15, 17, purvva 1.18, bhurvvaishnavi and sūryya in 1.27.

The object of the inscription is to record the grant of a village named Kontinika situated in the vishaya or district of Ashtadvara to one Bhāgavata (follower of the Bhāgavata sect) Brāhmaṇa, Nārayāṇa Upadhyāya by name, of the Kauddinyagotra, a follower of the Madhyandina śakhā of the....by the illustrious Mahāśiva-Tivararāja, who was born in the lunar dynasty and was an ardent worshipper of Vishṇu, for his own merit and that of his parents. The plates were issued from Śripura (modern Sirpur in Raipur district, M. P.) and the gift was made on the 12th day of the dark half of the month of Bhādrapada, on the occassion of the sankrānti.

The inscription is very important as it brings to light Nannarāja a new king of the lunar dynasty of of South Kosala or Chattisgarh He was a son and successor of Tivaradeva but remained unknown

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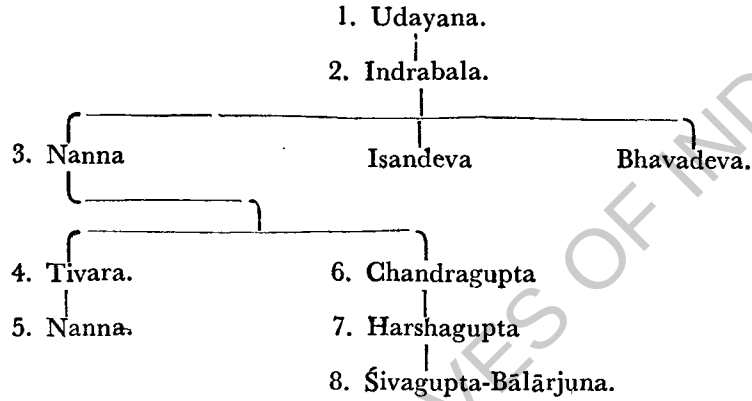
so far. In this inscription he calle himself a direct son or atmaja of Tivaradeva, as Pradymna was of Vishṇu or Kaiṭabhari. Thus, now the genealogical table of the Pāṇḍuvamśis or Somavamsis of South Kosala would be as under:—



Mahāśiva-Tivararaja of the present inscription is identical with his name sake, (also styled Tivaradeva) who issued the Rajim[4] and Baloda[5] plates in the 7th and 9th years of his reign. In those plates he calls himself a son of Nannadeva and grandson of Indrabala. He was an ardent worshipper of Vishṇu. While his own grants mention his title as sakalakosalādhipati, the present inscription informs us that he was not merely in possession of Kosala (south Kosala, modern Chhattisgrah), but his empire was extended to the territories of Utkala (modern Orrissa) and many other maṇḍalas and that it was the valour of his own arms that brought these maṇḍalas under his command. No earlier known inscription had referred to his victory over these provinces. Scholars have different opinion as regards the date of Tivaradeva. But I agree with the views of Prof. V. V. Mirashi[6] that he may have come to the throne about 560 A. D. He was probably a comtemporary of the Vishṇukuṇḍin king Mādhvavarman I whose plates[7] suggest his victory over Tivaradeva.

The family of Tivara was probably originally ruling over the regions of Bundelkhand as a rock inscription[8] at Kālanjar in the Banda district of V. P. mentions king Udyana of the Pāṇḍava family. His son was Indrabala[9] who according to a record of Nanna's time

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had four sons.[10] Nanna, one of them succeeded his father on the throne, whose brother Isānadeva is referred to in stone inscription fixed is the wall of Lakhapesvara temple at Khorod in the Bilaspur district. It appears that these two brothers invaded South Kosala and were successful in getting possession of a part of it. But the occupation of the entire Kosala country as well as that of Orissa and other Maṇḍalas was completed by Nanna's son, Tivara, whom the present inscription calls.

However his son and successor, Nannarāja II does not appear to be in a position to maintain the entire empire of his father and Orrissa was probably lost just after the death of Tivaradeva.

The Baloda plates[1] of Tivaradeva refers to one Nannarāja who was a son-in-law of the former. He cannot be identified with Na nnarāja of the present inscription because the latter clearly states that he was a direct son or ātmaja of Tivaṛadeva as Pradyumṇa was of Kaiṭabhāri (11.7-8) He was, like his father an ardent worshipper of Vishṇu and had hold over whole of the South Kosala.

Nanna II probably had no sons and it appears that he was succeeded by his uncle Chandagupta, grandfather of Mahāśivagupta—Bālārjuna.

Among the place-names mentioned in the record, Śripura whence this record was issued, has since been identified with Sirpur in the Raipur district of Madhya Pradesh. Ashṭadvāra is the same as Adhabhara, the findspot of the plates. It is also mentioned in an inscription found in one of the three rock-cut caves, known as Sitamadhi, standing by the side of nala near Korba,56 miles Bilaspur, which gives the name of a physicians son (Vaidyapotra) Śrīvardhana, living in the district of Ashṭadvāra. Conspicuously we have a village named Baradvāra (12 doors) in Bilaspur district.

The village Kontinika which was granted to the donee may possibly represent the modern village of KathaKoni, or of Kotmi, both about 12 miles from Adhbar.

I edit the inscription from the original plates.

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TEXT.[1]

First Plate.

1. ओम्[2] [*] स्वस्ति श्रि (श्री) पुरादनेकजन्मान्तरारादितभवन्नाराय–
2. णभटारकपादप्रसादासादितनयविनयसत्यत्याग
3. शौर्य्यादिगुणसम्पत्सं (त्स) म्पादितप्रथमपृथ्वीपतिप्रभावप
4. रिभाविसम्भावनस्य भावनाभ्यासप्रकाशीभूतनिर्म्म
5. लज्ञेयशशिनः शशिवङ्[3] संभूतेः स्वभजपराक्रमो
6. पार्जितसकलकोसलोत्कलादिमण्डलाधिपत्यप्राप्तमाहा
7. त्म्यस्य श्रि (श्री) महाशिवतीवरराजस्य प्रद्युम्न इव कैटभारेरात्म
8. जस्तच्चरितानुकरणपरायणः प्राप्तसक [लक] ोसलाम

Second Plate; First side.

9. ण्डलाधिपत्यः परमवैष्ण वोमातापितृपादानुध्यातः श्रि (श्री) म
10. हान्नराज [*] कुशलि (ली)[4] अष्टद्वारविषये कौन्तिणीकग्रामेआ
11. ह्मण [न् *] सम्पूज्य प्रतिवासिनः समाज्ञापयति विदितमस्तु
12. वो यथास्माभिरयं ग्राम [*] यावद्रविशशिताराकिरणप्र
13. तिहतघोरान्धकारं जगदवतिष्ठते तावदुपमोग्यः स-
14. निधि [:*] सोपनिधिरः[1] चाटभटः[2] प्रवेश्य [:*] सर्व्वकरादानसमेत [:*]
15. सर्व्वपि (पी) डावर्जितो[3] मातापित्रोरात्मनश्च पुन्या[4] भिवृ (वृ) द्धये:[5] को
16. ण्डिन्यसगोत्राय वाजसनेयमाध्यदिनभागवतब्राह्मण—

Secon l Plate; second side.

17. नारायणोपाध्यायाय मातापित्तोरात्मनश्च पुण्याभिवृ (वृ) द्धये
18. भाद्रपदकृष्णद्वादश्या[6] संक्रान्तौ[7] उदकपूर्व्वशासनेन प्र
19. तिपादित इत्यवगम्य विधेयैर्मूत्वासमुचितं भोगभाग—
20. मुपनयद्भि [:*] सुखं प्रतिवस्तव्य (व्य) मिति ११ भाविनश्च भूमि
21. पालानुदि (दि) श्येदमभिधि (धी) यते [।*] भूमिप्रदा दिवि ललं (ल)-
22. न्ति पतं (त) न्ति हन्त हृत्वा महिं (हीं) नृपतयो नरके नृशन्सा[8] [:*]।।(।)
23. एतद्व (द्ध) य (यं) परिकलय्य चलाञ्च लक्ष्मीं[9] मायुस्तथा कुरुथ

Third Plate.

24. यद्भुवतामभि (भी) ष्टं (ष्ट) म् । [। १ ।।°] अपि च [।*] दानात्पा
    लनयो[10] स्तावत्फल (लं)
25. सुगतिर्दुर्गती [। *] को नाम स्वर्गमुत्सृज्य नरकं प्रतिप

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26. द्यते ।। [२ ।। *] ब्या (व्या) सगि (गी ता (तां) श्चात्र श्लोकानु-दाहरन्ति ।। (।) अग्नेरपत्यं

27. प्रथमं सुवर्णं भूर्व्वेष्णवी सूर्य्य सुताश्च गावः[1] [।*] [दत्तास्त्वयस्तेन भवन्ति लोका यः काञ्च नं गाञ्च महीञ्च दद्यात् ।। ३ ।। etc. *]

1. Bilaspur district Gazeteer p. 255.
2. Inscriptions in the Central Provinces and Berar, 1932 No. 230.
3. Only two of the customary benedictory and imprecatory verses at the end are complete and third one incomplete.
4. CII vol. III pp. 291 onwards.
5. Epi. Ind. vol. VII pp. 106 onwards.
6. Epr. Ind. vol. XXVI p. 229; 4. Ipur. and Polamuru grants.
7. Epi. Indl. vol. IV. p. 257;
8. Ind. Ant. XVIII p. 179 f.
9. JRAS 1905. p. 624 ff.
10. Epl. Ind. vol. VII pp. 102 ff.
11. Inscriptions in C. P. and Berar 1932, No. 222.
12. From the original plates.
13. Expressed by a Symble.
14. Read वंश
15. The daṇḍas are superfluous.
16. These two dots suggesting a *Visarga* are superfluous; read रचाट
17. These two dots suggesting a *visarga* are superfluous; read भऽप्रवेश्य
18. Read वर्ज्जितो
19. Read पुण्यामि
20. These two dots suggesting Visarga are superfluous; read वृद्धये कौ
21. Read द्वादश्या :
22. Read सक्रान्ता उदक
23. Read नृशंसा :
24. This ausvar is superfluous; read लक्ष्मीमायु.
25. Read रक्षापालनयी
26. The verse is incomplete.

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RĀMA CULT IN EARLY MEDIEVAL INDIA

By

B. P. Mazumdar

Cunningham observed in his report of a tour in 1864-1865 that the separate worship of Rāma "did not most probably become general until after the Muhammedan conquest of Delhi."[1] But the worship of Dāśarathi Rāma as an Avatāra of Vishṇu is at least as old as the time of Bṛhatsamhitā of Varāhmihira, who prescribes details of his iconometry.[2] Till the end of the twelfth century A. D., we find, that, canons of iconometry regarding the image of Rāma were laid down in the Matsya Purāṇa chapter 259 verses 1-2, Mānasollāsa,[3] Bhaṭṭa Utpala[4] and Alberuni[5] the last two drawing upon Bṛhatsamhitā. Not only the Padma Purāṇa 1.2.31, Harivamśa 1.41, Brahma Purāṇa chapter 180, Garuḍa Purāṇa 1.202, Varāha Purāṇa chapter 4 and the Pātāla and Śṛshṭi khaṇḍas of the Padma Purāṇa, but also the Gwalior inscription[6] of the Gurjara-Pratihāra king Bhoja in the 9th century, describes Rāma as an incarnation of Vishṇu. This tradition continued till the close of the twelfth century. In conformity to it the contemporary literatures, like the Mānasollāsa, Daśāvatāracarita of Kshemendra,[8] Gītagoviṇḍam of Jayadeva[9], Naishadhacarita of Śrīharsha[10] and the Rāmacaritam of Sandhyākaranandin recount the glories of Rāma. The identification of Rāma with Purushottama is established in the Rāmacaritam 1.10 (atha tasya Mahīpālah śūrapālopi Purusottamo Rāmah) and with Kṛshṇa, who sided with the son of Indra (i.e. Arjuna) and who killed the son of Arka (i.e. Karṇa) in the Naishadhacarita of Śrīharsha (Canto XXI.94—Bhānusunu-gṛhya jaya tvām Rāmamūrthiatavṛttaputrah Indrananadanasapaksamapi tvām naumi kṛshṇa. Nihatārkatanujam)

The qualities of Rāma dominated the minds of the people of the eleventh-twelfth centuries. Sandhyākaranandin wrote the Rāmacaritam for narrating the exploits of Dāśarathi Rāma and Rāmapāla of Bengal. The Pṛthirājavijaya[12] instituted comparison between Rāma and Pṛthvirāja III. In the Hansi inscription dated 1168 A. D. we also find a comparison between Pṛthvirāja II and Rāma

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on the one hand and on the other between Kilhana and Hanumāna[13]. The Piplianagar grant[14] of the Paramāra king Arjunavarman also praises Rāma.

Thus the worship of Rāma started at least in the sixth century A. D. Dr. R. C. Hazra[15] has correctly arrived at the conclusion, that, certain sections of the sṛṣṭikhaṇḍa (chapters 19-28 and 32-43) and Pātāla khaṇḍa (chapters 100 to the end) which were composed between 800 and 950 A. D., were recasted by the Rāmāites. Again, in the writings of Kulaśekhera Alvar, who flourished in the early part of the ninth century A. D., we find the earliest example of devotion to Rāma.[16]

During the eleventh-twelfth centuries Rāma did not remain simply an incarnation or avatāram of Vishṇu. He became an avatāri or the supreme deity himself. Sir R. C. Bhandarkar has furnished us certain evidences of the existence of the Rāma cult in the eleventh century. Amitagati, a Jain writer flourishing in the early part of the eleventh century, speaks of Rāma as the all-knowing and all-pervading protector of the world. Bhandarkar also mentions two traditional versions, one stating that Mādhva-Ānandatīrtha himself brought the image of Digvijayī Rāma from Badarikāśrama, and the other, that, his disciple Narahari Tirtha obtained from the king of Kalinga an ancient and sacred, though neglected, images of Rāma and Sītā and presented them to his guru Mādhava. The truth of Bhandarkar's version can be shown from an inscription dated Śaka 1215/ c. 1293 A. D., which mentions that Naraharitirtha set up images of Rāma, Sītā and Lakshmaṇa.[18]

We shall now bring in other evidences regarding the separate worship of Rāma in the eleventh century. The above-mentioned inscription dated 1293. A. D. and the traditions recorded by Sir R. G. Bhandarkar definitely show, that, the Rāma cult was in existence in Kalinga during the eleventh-twelfth centuries A.D.Moreover, the Rajim stone-inscription dated Ks. 896/1145 A. D.,[19] refers not only to the establishment of a temple of Rāma but also the endowment of a village by Jagapala or Jagasimha, a feudatory of the Tummāṇa Kalacuri kings Jajalladeva and Prthvideva. Coming to the literary evidence we find that it was but for the popularity of the

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Rāma cult that the Rāma Tāpaniya Upnisad, whose date has been assigned to the eleventh century, was written. Had not the Rāma cult been popular Laksmīdhara would not have recorded in his Tīrthavivecanakāṇḍam that Gopratāra,[20] on the banks of the river Sarayū, was a place of pilgrimage during his time. It was at Gopratāra that Rāma passed away. It is also noteworthy that chapters 1 to 68 of the Pātāla-khaṇḍa,[21] which were written when the Turko-Afghans had established themselves in India, must have been recasted by the Rāmāites. Thus the Rāma cult was known in Northern India, Mid-India and Kalinga in Eastern India.

The worship of Hanumāna is a sequel to the Rāma worship. Even before the introduction of separate worship of Rāma, Cunningham noticed Hanumāna images at Khajuraho bearing dates like V. S. 740 or 840/683 or 783 A. D., V. S. 925/868 A. D.[22] and Sam 940[23] (?) and at Gurgi-Masaum.[24] Hanumān-worship gained more popularity during our period. The above-mentioned notable historian recorded as early as 1864-1865 that as many as nine copper coins of the Candella kings like Sallaksaṇavarman, Jayavarman, Prthvivarman and Madanavarman bore on the obverse "a two-armed male figure, which appears to be that of the monkey-god Hanumān.[25] His suggestions have been confirmed by numismatists. Again it was at Harsauda, a village in Hoshangabad, that a merchant set up the images of Hanumat along with other deities in V. S. 1275/ 1218 A. D.[26] Not only the Candella kings were adherents of Hanumān worship but so also were the Tummāna Kalacuri kings like Prthvideva I, Jājalladeva and Ratanadeva II who issued copper coins bearing the figure of Hanumān. The coin issued by Prthvideva I shows the four-armed Hanumān trampling some one lying prostrate with his right foot.

Besides Bundelkhand and Baghelkhand, Benares was another centre of Hanumān-worship, wherein we find an image.[27] Along with Hanumān, the mention of images known as Sugrivalinga and Janakeśvara at Benares by Laksmīdhara, also show that the Rāma cult was popular there in the eleventh century.

The worship of Hanumān shows that the early character of the Rāma cult must have been a devotional one. The attitudes of the

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Rāmāites must have been the same as that of Heliodorous who erected the Garuḍadhvaja at Besnagara.

Another aspect of the devotional character of early Rāma worship which began during our period, is the celebration of the festival of Sītā. Lakshmīdhara in his Krtyakalpatarau-Niyatakalakāṇḍam,[28] and Caṇḍeśvara in his Kṛtyaratnākara[29] prescribed that on the eighth of the dark fortnight and ninth day of the bright fortnight of the month of Phalgun, Sītā was to be worshipped. On the latter occasion houses should be illuminated with lamps in the dusk.

As we come to the thirteenth century we find further increase in the number of Rāma worshippers. Verawal, in Gujrat becomes another centre, where the Śaiva ascetic Tripurāntaka erected the statue of Anjaneya.[30] The popularity of Hanumān must have spread to Rajputana by the thirteenth century, where we find that the monkey god is invoked in an inscription.[31] And hence it is not at all surprising if we find for the first time in the kingdom of the Candellas, that Vishṇu has been invoked as Rāma, Murāri, Hari and Mādhava.[32] Now Rāma is no longer an incarnation of Vishṇu but Vishṇu or Hari himself. In the context of our narration of the evolution of the Rāma cult, Rāmānanda found no difficulty in giving a new vigour to it in the fourteenth century A. D.

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1. ASI. Rep. vol. II (1862-1865).p. 270
2. Bṛhatsamhitā, ch. 57, verse 30 Daśrathatanayo Rāmā Baliśca vairocaniha śatam vimśam
3. GOS,ed, vol. II. chapter 3
4. Banerji J. N. Dev. of Hindu Iconography 1st. ed. p. 351
5. Sachau ed. vol. I. p. 117
6. EI, XVIII, p. 107, verse 3
7. Op. cit. vol II, chapter 3
8. Daśāvatāracarita, compiled in 1066 A.D. a novel approach to the Rāmāyaṇa. Here Sītā is described as Rāvaṇa's daughter (7. 101-104 and parts of the Rāmāyaṇa is narrated to Rāvaṇa by Śūrpaṇakhā, Suketu and a spy (7. 105-194 and 207-213)
9. Gītagovindam I. 11
10. Naisl.adhacarita Canto XXI. verses 67-75, 77, 80 and 94

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11. VRS ed. I verse 8, 10, 13, 19 and 28
12. JRS 1913, pp. 278-279
13. DHNI vol. II. p. 1079
14. DHNI vol. II p. 895
15. Hazra : Puranic Records on Hindu Rites and Customs p. 119 and 124
16. J. Venkatesvara Or. Ins., Tirpatti pt. 3 (1942) p. 166
17. J. Mythic Society, vol. VII. p. 328-329.
18. DHNI, vol. I. p. 486
19. I.A. vol XVII (1888)p. 140, line 10
20. Tīrthavivecanakandam, GOS ed. p. 234-235
21. Hazra: Puranic Records p. 118
22. ASI. Rep. XXI. p. 64-65
23. Ibid., vol. II. p. 437
24. Ibid, vol. XXI. p. 152
25. Ibid II. p. 458 and Coins of Med. Indian p. 79-80
26. I.A. vol. X. (1891) p. 312
27. Laksmīdhara : Tīrthavivecanakāṇḍam, GOS, ed. p. 51
28. GOS ed. p. 439 and 441 Rāmapātnī ca sampujya sītā, Janakānandinī and Sītām sampūjya bhoktavyam nrtyagītasamākulam
29. Bibl. Indica ed. p. 518 and 527
30. EI. P. 284 Cintra Prasasti, verse 45
31. IHQ. XXI p. 285-286 Acaleśvara inscription dated 1285 A.D.
32. DHNI, vol. II. p. 734 Ajaigadh inscription dated 1288 A. D.

THE REFERENCE TO THE "DEVA-PUTRA-SHRI-SAHA-NUSAHI" IN THE ALLAHABAD PILLAR INSCRIPTION OF SAMUDRAGUPTA

By

Dr. Buddha Prakash, Ph. D.

"Deva-putra-Sahi-Sahanusahi" occuring in the twenty-third line of the Allahabad Pillar Inscription of Samudragupta refers to

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the Later Imperial Kushāṇas. The pressure of the Sassanids in the North-West and the resurgence of Indian tribes and peoples in the South-East reduced the Kushāṇa Kingdom to small proportions. Under Ardashir I (224-241 A.D.) the Kushāṇas had to acnowledge the suzerainty of the Sassanids and in the time of Shahpur I (241-272 A. D.) much of their territory was annexed to the Sassanid empire. Being thus prostrated, theKushāṇas tried to enter into friendly relations with the Romans, the sworn enemies of the Sassanids, and made themselves felt in the domestic policies of the warring Sassanid princes after the death of Shahpur. They helped Hormizd against Bahram II (272-293) and Narse (293-301) against Bahram II and entered into a matrimonial aliance with Hormizd (301-309). During the infancy of Shahpur II (309-379) they further entrenched their authority and extended their realm. On attaining maturity Shahpur addressed himsell to the task of regaining the provinces that were to the Romans by his predecessors and had to wage a prolonged war with them on this account. In this turmoil the Kushāṇas also raised their heads with the result that Shahpur had to contend with them also. The theory of Ghirshman that Shahpur liquidated the Kushāṇas in 340 A. D. is not correct in view of the fact that we find him fighting with them from 350 to 356. It was in 356 that he succeeded in curbing them, for in that year we find the high judge of Kabul, Slok, praying for nis success, showing therby that this region had become subject to the Sassanids. Sometime between 350 and 356 the Kushāṇa king, who was not Kidāra as supposed by some scholars, offered allegiance to Samudragupta and formed alliance with him in order to contend with the tide of Sassanid invasion. This shows that the Allahabad Pillar inscription mentioning the Kushāṇa King in the full parody of Imperial titles was composed between 350 and 356. A. D. and the conquests of Samudragupta had been made before this period.

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MAHADEVĪ PRABHUDĀMĀ OF THE VAIŚĀLĪ SEAL A GUPTA QUEEN

By

Dasharatha Sharma

It is obvious from the seals discovered at Vaiśālī (modern Basarh) that it was an important administrative centre, for from here come seals not only of prominent citizens and guilds but also of administrative officers, commanders, princes royal and even queens. Perhaps it was a viceregal seat from where the Guptas controlled their northern territories , perhaps even the second capital of the the Emipre from the time of the Lichchhavī princes, Kumāradevī, onwards. Or was it, like Airikiṇā (Eran), a *svabhoganagara*,[1] i.e. a town the revenues of which were assigned to favoured members of the royal family like Dhurvasvāminī, Prince Govindagupta and Prince Ghaṭotkachagupta; in lieu of certain services, of course, either actual or nominal ?

That a seal of the Śaka princess, Prabhudāmā, who is described as the daughter of *Mahākshatrapa Svāmī* Rudrasimha and a sister of *Mahākshatrapa Svamī* Rudrasena, should be found at Basarh, in the company of many other royal seals,is in my opinion extremely sugges tive. She is a *Mahādevī* i.e. a queen, but obviously not of a Śaka chief;[2] and as she mentions the name of her father as well as brother but not her husband,it may be presumed that he was so well known to the Vaiśālinas that no such mention was found necessary. If we keep this significant fact in view, is it not likely that, like the husband of Dhruvasvāminī, another *Mahādevī* represented in the Vaiśālī seals *Mahādevī* Prabhudāmā's husband may also have been a Gupta ruler, perhaps even the great imperialist Samudragupta ?

That such a conclusion is not improbable can be seen from Samudragupta's Allahabad Pillar inscription which includes Śakas among the foreign powers who had to please Samudragupta, not only by asking for characters bearing the Garuḍa seal to confirm them in the possession of their own territories but also by offering their daughters in marriage to him.[3] *Mahādevī* Prabhudāmā can, I think be regarded as a good instance of this *kanyopāyana-dāna*.

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That views quite different from this have been held by some scholars is not unknown to me. Specially worth consideration is the view of Dr. D. C. Sircar who regards' Prabhudāmā as a daughter of the Western Satrap Rudrasimha I (c. 181-188 A.D.) and a sister of Rudrasena I (c. 200-220 A. D.). If this be correct, there cannot be any question of Prabhudāmā being a Gupta queen, for in that case she lived nearly one hundered years before the establishment of the Gupta dynasty. The script of the seal however, does not suggest this early date. It shows also Mithraic influence, probablly on account of Indian contact with the Sassanians,[4] whose first ruler, Ardeshir I, reigned from c. 224 to 241 A. D. It was only after the conquest of Sind by Varahran II in 284 A. D. that Sassanian, and in its wake Mithraic, influence begain to reach India; to have reached the distant Vaiśalī, it must have taken many years more.

My suggestion makes *Mahādevī* Prabhudāmā one of Samudraguota's queens and daughter of Rudrasimha II (c. 305-317), who may have been a contemporary of Chandragupta I.[5] In a slightly loose but popular sense, she, as a cousin of Rudrasena III (348-378 A. D.) could also call herself his sister[5a] From 317 to 348 A. D. we come across no Śaka coins.[6] Prabhudāmāś hand perhaps was the price paid by Rudrasena III for the restoration of his dynasty(*utsanna-rājya vamśā pratisthāpana*) in 348 A. D.,[7] or perhaps of his own personal rule (*bhrashṭarājyapratisthāpana*).

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1. Compare, "Any body who governed a division in which Eran was an important city or even the capital city, with (its) revenues allotted to him as assignment instead of salary, would be entitled to describe it by the term as *svabhoga*." (Dr. S. K. Aiyangar's Editorial Comment in the *Journal of Indian History*, XIV, p. 29)

2. If she had been,most probably the Śaka chief would have been mentioned as are her father and other both of them most probably Śaka Satraps of Saurāshṭra and Gujarāt.

3. The conditions of Samudragupta's *paritośa* (satisfaction) are given as "*ātmanivedana-kanyopāyanadāna-Garuḍamankasva-vishaya-bhuktiśāsana yāchana*" (line 24 of the inscription.)

4. See the view of Dr. J. N. Banerji quoted in IHO, XXXI, p. 336.

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5. I put the accession of Chandragupta I earlier than 319 A. D., the initial year of the Gupta era.

5a. Or should we presume that Rudrasena III's father, *Mahākshatrapa* Rudradāmā II, is identical with Rudrasimha II ? No coins of Rudradāmā have been discovered so far.

6. This absence of coins is now generally ascribed to the Śaka defeat by Samudragupta.

7. Such restorations were a part of Samudragupta's policy (see line 23 of the Allahabad Pillar inscription).

8. *Ibid.*

THE INTERPRETATION OF "Ā-KUMĀRAM MANUSHYAIH" OF SAKANDAGUPTA'S BHITARI INSCRIPTION AND CONNECTED PROBLEMS

By

Dasharatha Sharma.

The early career of Skandagupta has for years been a subject of controversy and must in some measure remain so far want of sufficient decisive evidence. But certain facts even there are clear enough. He was the favourite son of his father, Kumāragupta I, and had been trained well for his future role. When towards the end of the old Emperor's reign, enemies of the Empire, coveting its rich territories, disturbed the "Gupta peace," Skandagupta was entrusted with the task of putting down the rebellion. He did so, even though he had to sleep on the bare ground and probably in the open like a common soldier.[1] The enemies he defeated must have been the Pushyamitras, with their great resources in men and money, and the means that he employed against them probably were not wholly of a military nature, for the people sang of his glory born of valour as well as well as *kshānti*, i.e. forbearance.[2]

Dr. R. C. Majumdar believes that Kumāragupta I died before the war against the Pushyamitras had been decided, and that that there was a fratricidal war in which Skandagupta came off victorious, after

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defeating his brothers including Purugupta, the rightful claimant.[3] I gree only partially with Dr. Majumdar. I do not think that Kumāragupta I died before the Pushyamitra war was over. Before mentioning Kumāragupta's death, the Bhitarī inscription states clearly that the Pushyamitras had been so decisively beaten that Skandagupta put his left foot on their king as his footstool[4]. and if any further evidence the subsequence of Kumāragupta's death be needed, this is, I believe, provided by the next verse,

Prasabhamanupamairvvidhvasta-śastra-pratāpair
vinaya-samuchitaiścha kshānti-'śauryairnirūḍham|
charitamamalakirtergg īyate yasya śubhram
diśi diśi paritushṭairā-Kumāram manushyaih||

In this, "ā-Kumāram manushyaih," should be translated not only as "by all down to youngsters" but also as "by all up to Kumāragupta I." Kumāragupta had reason enough to go into raptures over Skandagupta's victory, for without the latter's consummate generalship and bravery the empire might actually have tottered down to its fall; and of course Kumāragupta had to be alive too, if he joined, as suggested above the chorus of praise that greeted Skandagupta on his return to the capital after his great victory over the Pushyamitras.

On the other controversial point, a war of succession on the death of Kumāragupta I, I am inclined to agree with Dr. Majumdar, though I regard the question of Skandagupta's being the son of a *mahishī* or of a junior queen as irrelevant, because Hindu law lays down nowhere that the son of a *mahishī* alone should succeed to the throne or be even preferred to the more capable and sometimes elder sons of junior queens. In a State which had no recognised law of primogeniture, every prince of the royal blood could claim the throne,and that such a claim was actually made can be seen from the coins of Ghaṭotkachagupta, a son of Kumāragupta I, who assumed the title Kramāditya and probably actually ruled, perhaps in Mālwa, for a short period.[5] We should not be surprised, if some of Skandagupta's relatives on the maternal side also sided with the pretender, for this would make his comparison with Kṛshṇa, who had destroyed his enemies, and of Skandagupta's mother to Devakī a little apter.[6]

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The early years of Skandagupt's reign must have been trying enough. But before the Hūṇa avalanche broke upon India, Skandagupta had succeeded in overcoming his initial difficulties and was ready for his next great achievement, the defeat of the Hūṇas, which has made his name immortal in the annals of India.

1. Bhitarī inscription, verse 4.
2. *Ibid.*, verse 5.
3. *JASB.*, 1921, pp. 253 ff.
4. Bhitari inscription, verse 4.
5. See D. C. Sircar's *Select Inscriptions*, pp. 298-99 and footnote 1 on p. 299.
6. It is only a tentative suggestion. There is some risk of going wrong in overstreching similes.

NEW LIGHT ON THE TOMARAS OF DELHI

By
Sri Dasharatha Sharma

Of the Rājput clans of India, the Tomaras along with a few others go to fairly old period of our history. The Tomaras are mentioned in the *Purāṇas* as being somewhere in the north, along with the Hamsamārgas, Taṅgaṇas and Kāśmiras;[1] and as the Kāśmīras and Taṅgaṇas are both known to have lived in the Himālayan valleys,[2] it can reasonably be presumed that the Tomaras lived somehwre near them, perhaps in that part of the Punjab which adjoins Kāshmīr. When they trekked southwards is unknown. Perhaps Kurukshetra formed one of the intermediate stages. An undated inscription of the reign of Mahendrapāla Pratihāra (c. 885-910 A. D.) speaks of the Tomara *bhūnātha*, Gogga, and his two brothers having built a triple temple of Vishṇu at Pṛthūdaka (Pehoā),[3] now a small town in Kaithal *tahsīl* of Karnāl district, S. E. Punjab. As a fighting clan that readily found military enmployment,they perhaps reached the Delhi area and the *Tamvaravātī* of the former Jaipur State (Rājasthān)

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during the period of the Imperial Pratihāras of Kānyakubja[3a]. When the Pratihāras declined in power, the Tomaras asserted their independence like many other Rājpūt clans and fought against their ambitious neighbours to maintain their position.

We have described elsewhere their conflict against the Chāhamānas of Śākambharī.[4] In their conflict with their northern neighbours, the Amrīs of Ghaznī, they had varied success and failure. In 1017 A. D. the Tomaras could not defend Thāneśwar against Mahmūd of Ghaznī. Mahmūd's son and successor, Masūd, besieged Sirsā and captured Hānsī in 1036 A. D. The Tomara ruler, Mahīpāla, retaliated at some time after 1042 A. D. by recapturing Hānsī and Thāneśwar and threaten even Lāhore.[5] This was the greatest achievement of the Tomaras.

Had it been possible for the Tomaras to continue this anti-Ghaznavite policy, they might have occupied a very high place in our history. But for a people with limited resources, and fighting all the time against their neighbours, it was no easy task. A number of Ghaznavite successes perhaps demoralised them. In c. 1052 A. D., the Ghaznavites captured Kāngrā.[6] In 1079 A. D. Ibrāhim of Ghaznā captured Pākpaṭṭan, slew in battle Durlabharāja Chāhamāna of Śākambharī, and defeated the Chāhamānas of Nāḍol.[7] In 1120 A. D. the Ghaznavite Governor, Bāhlim, capture Nagor and began plundering the territories adjacent to it.[8]

Under the circumstances, it is no wonder that the Tomaras of Delhi changed their policy. Resistance to the invader paid them no dividends; it made them only more vulnerable to the attacks of their rapacious neighbours. Would it not be better, they might have thought, to cooperate with the Ghaznavites and destroy some of their enemies. And that they did cooperate with the Muslims is proved by the *Pārśvanātha charita* of Śrīdhara, an Apabhramśa work composed in V. 1189 (1132 A. D.), which states,[9]

"In the Hariāṇā country of innumerable villages, there was a city named Delhi. It was adorned with many beautifull *gopuras*, lovely gardens, palatial buildings and theatres. There ruled a king named Anaṅgapāla *who had increased the army of the brave Hammīra* and given garments in charity to bards and suppliants."

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The words, "who had increased the army of the brave Hammīra," are significant, for they show that not only had Anaṅgapāla ceased to be a worthy representative of a people who had so far guarded manfully the gates of the Indian plains, but descended also to the the disgraceful role of being an auxiliary of Amīr, the enemy of Indian independence and culture. A part of Bāhlim's success against the Indian rulers may have been due to the help offered by traitors like Anaṅgapāla.

Traditional accounts state that Anaṅgpāla handed over the rule of Delhi to his son's daughter, Pṛithvīrāja III of Ajmer, and retired to the Badarī forest to lead religious life.[10] But actually the facts are different. Anangapāla lost Delhi probably on account of his traitorous policy." Arṇorāja Chāhamāna, whose kingdom had suffered most at the hands of Bāhlim and his auxiliaries, led an expedition to the north, during the course of which he probably sacked Delhi. An undated and fragmentary *praśasti*, now in the Ajmer Museum, speaks not only of his having made the women of Haritānaka (Delhi Kingdom) shed tears but also of his soldiers having muddied the waters of the Kālindī, i.e., the Jamunā river.[12] Some years later came the complete destruction of the Tomara power at the hands of the Chāhamāna Imperialist, Vigraharāja IV, who boasts of having turned Āryāvarta into a real land of the Āryas by repeatedly destrying the Mlechchhas.[13] He could have had no mercy for a power that allied itself with the "*surārichakra*,"[14] i.e., the Muslims and their friends. The Tomaras appear to have fought well, Someśvara's Bijholī inscription of V. 1226 speaks of Vigraharāja's *yaśas* (fame) recouping itself at Asikā, after it had become fatigued by the conquest of Delhi.[14a] A *vamśāvali* of V. 1583, i.e. 1526 A. D. gives V. 1219 as the date of the conquest of Delhi.[15] It may be correct.

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1. Text of the Purāṇnic List of Peoples, *IHQ*, 1945, p. 304.

2. See the *Kāvyamīmāmsā* (G. O. S.), p. 94 and *Bṛhatsamhitā*, Chapter XIV, verse 29.

3. *EI*, I. pp. 242 ff.

3*a*. That Delhi was under the Pratihāras in the reign of Bhoja I is proved by the discovery of an inscription of this ruler built into the

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9th step of the Purānā Qilā Harshanātha inscription of V. 1030 similarly provides evience enough of the Tomara occupation of the Tamvaravāṭī.

4. See the writer's *Early Chāhamāna Dynasties.*

5. See the *Rājasthan Bhāratī,* III, pp. 17-26 parts 3-4.

6. Briggs, *Tarikh-i-Firishta,* p. 118, vol. I.

7. See the writer's paper on Ibrāhīm of Ghznā, *JBRS,* 1944,p. 104.

8. Briggs, *Tārikh-i-Firishtā,* Vol. I, p. 132.

9. *Praśasti-samgraha,* Digambara-Jaina-atiśaya-kshetra, Jaipur, pp 130-32.

10. The *Pṛthvīraja-rāso* and *Tomara-vamśāvalis.*

11. The undated *praśasti* we shall presently refer to appears to include him in "*surārichakra.*'

12. For the text of the *praśasti* see the writer's *Early Chāhamāna Dynasties.*

13. *IA,* XIX, p. 218.

14. The phrase is from the fragmentray Chāhamāna *praśasti* mentioned above.

14a. *Dhillikā-grahaṇa-śrantam- Āsikā-lābha-lambhitam.*

15. Rājasthān-Bhārati, III, parts 3-4, p. 26.

TRACES OF PROMISCUITY IN ANCIENT INDIAN SOCIETY

By

Dr. Ram Sharan Sharma

The German scholar Bachofen, who produced his epoch-making work *Mutterrecht* in 1861, was the first to suggest that a state of promiscuity preceded the establishment of the institution of marriage.[1] His conclusions were reinforced by the researches of Mclennan, Morgan, Lubbock, Bastian, Spencer and others but disputed by Darwin and Westermark, who pointed out that the institution of marriage existed right from the commencement of the Human race,

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Bachofen traced many passages in the classical literature of various countries testifying to the existence of promiscuity. It is, however, not sufficiently known that a number of such passages are found also in ancient Indian literature. According to Meyer the Vedic literature knows directly nothing of promiscuity.[2] But there seems to be no doubt about the indirect evidence for the prevalence of this social phenomenon. There is the well-known myth that Prajāpati was enamoured of his daughter. We also learn that Pūshan wooed his mother. An old *gāthā* in the *Aitareya Brāhmaṇa* states that for the sake of sons men united with their mother and sister as with wife.

This is corroborated by some traditions in the epics and Purāṇas which refer to the practice of parental incest. We can quote the famous example of Manu, the father of mankind, who was begotten by Brahmā on his daughter Śatarūpā.[3] Such instances obviously point to a stage in early society in which the institution of marriage was not stabilised and the inhibitions regarding sexual intercourse between father and daughter or, brother and sister, had not arisen. It will be shown later how Śvetaketu speaks of a period when there was no marriage. But the view that "In the Vedas there is nothing that can even faintly suggest that any such condition of society, as is disclosed in the Legend of Śvetaketu, existed among the Āryans"[4] seems to be without foundation. It has been suggested that the practice of parental incest arose in primitive patriarchal groups on account of the necessity of having sons in the course of their migration. But earliest primitive societies were generally matriarchal or at least matrilineal, and such features were foreign to the patriarchal societies of known historical times. Several passages in the *Mahābhārata* clearly indicate that the stage of promiscuity prevailed in the earlier period. The *Karṇa Parva* records several such traditions about the people of Madra country. It is stated that in that region women of Bāhlika are a blemish on mankind.[5] In their case it is not possible to determine the birth, and hence sisters, and not sons, are the heirs. The same source further avers that Bāhlika women of Śakala, in the country of Madra, dance and laugh naked. They are licentious and selfwilled, and indulge in sexual intercourse in the open.[6] It is significant that the echo of such a tradition about north-western

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India persisted till the time of *Rājataranganī* which states that the Brāhmaṇas of Gandhāra lived in incest[7]. The references about Madra suggest that the restriction on sexual intercourse, which the institution of monogamous marriage involves, was absent in that country. Such traditions about Madra and Bāhlīka are confirmed by other references to the existence of strīrājya, strīvāhya or nārīvishaya in North-Western India.[8]

On the question of promiscuity two statesments in the *Mahābhārata* are decisive. Pāṇḍu refers to an age in which women were uncontrolled, licentious, selfwilled and independent. They were attracted towards men even before their marriage, but this did not involve any sin to them.[9] Pāṇḍu informs us that even in his times such a practice prevailed in Uttarakuru. We may add that the Buddhist literature refers to this land as a place where women are no chattel, and where there is no private property.[10] But the most important evidence of the existence of promiscous sexual relations is to be found in the story of Uddālaka and his son Śvetaketu. While Śvetaketu was standing by, a Brāhmaṇa snatched away his mother by hand, which enraged him very much. The father told him that there was no point in getting furious because all the women in the world were uncovered and self-willed, and that this was the *sanātana dharma*.[11] But the son was not prepared to accept this explanation for such a behaviour. He established the rule that the wife who neglects her husband and the husband who violates the unmarried girl shall be guilty of destroying the embryo. It will be seen that the legend of Śvetaketu is in keeping with numerous other traditions. In view of these, it would not be correct to dismiss the Śvetaketu legend as a fiction.[12] Reference may be also made to the Paurāṇic statement that in the Kṛita age progeny was produced mainly on account of the desire to produce.[13] Perhaps the myth suggests that due to the absence of the institution of marriage in the earliest times men and women could mate freely.

An ancient *gāthā* quoted in the earlier Dharmasūtras contains a veiled allusions to a period when little value was placed on the conjugal faith of a woman.[14] According to the *Brihspati Smriti*, the women of the east are unchaste[15]. Jolly suggests that this unfavourable

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opinion about the fidelity of the women of eastern countries is perhaps derived from the old accounts of Tibetan and Farther Indian tribes, among whom even now the married life is very lax[16].

Even after the establishment of the institution of marriage practices, reminding of the old stage of promiscuity, lingered till the time of the Smṛitis, with the result that the Smṛiti writers had to make provision for sons born of intercourse beyond the recognised married connections. According to Manu, if children are born of women as a result of intercourse with a person other than her husband and if their father cannot be determined, they would be knon as *gūḍhotpanna*[17]. The lawgivers also provide for children born out of unmarried and widowed women. Four kinds of such children are enumerated in the lawbooks. Such survivals seem to be reminiscent of the old promiscuous relations when there were no restrictions on the intercourse between men and women., which developed as a result of monogamous family system in patriarchal society.

On the basis of the above references it is difficult to come to any definite conclusion regarding the extent and period of the prevalance of promiscuous relations. We cannot also determine whether this practice was confined to the Āryans or nonĀryans, or to both. But the fact that Madra is singled out for condemnation may suggest that the people of the Punjab were not able to shed away this practice for a long time. In any case the above references leave little doubt that there were traces of promiscuity in ancient Indian society.

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1. F. Engels, *The Origin of the Family, Private Property and the State* (Calcutta, 1943), p. 4.

2. Jolly, *Hindu Law and Custom.* p. 106. fn. 2.

3. All these examples and several others have been collected by Dr. S. C. Sircar in *Some Aspects of the Earliest Social History of India.*

4. D. N. Mitter *Position of Woman in Hindu Law*, p. 200.

5. *Karṇa Parva* (Kumb. Edn). 37. 23.

6. *Ibid.*, 37. 22. 23.

7. *Rāj.*, I. 308.

8. Vātsyāyana's *Kāmasūtra* (Nirnayasagara Edi. p. 301; f.f. p. 129;

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Śānti Parva, IV. 7; *Bṛhat-samhitā*, XIX. 22; *Rājataraṅgiṇī* (Calcutta, 1835), IV, 173-176, 670.

9. *Ādi Parva*. 128. 4-5.
10. *Dīgha Nikāya* (Rhys Davids' trans.), Pt. III, p. 192.
11. *Ādi Parva* (Kumbkoman Edn.), 128-9-15.
12. D. N. Mitter *op. cit.*, p. 203.
13. *Vāyu Purāṇa* (Bibliotheca Indica), VII. 57.
14. *Āpastamba*, II. 13. 7; *Baudhāyana*, II. 3. 34.
15. II. 30.
16. Jolly: *op.cit.*, p. 107.
17. *Manu*, IX, 170-181.

BAUDHA DOHA GANA AS SOURCE MATERIAL FOR CONTEMPORARY SOCIO-ECONOMIC AND RELEGIOUS LIFE

By

Dr. B. P. Sinha.

We are not here concerned with the linguistic and philological problems that have been for long agitating the minds of competent scholars like Dr. S. K. Chatterji. Dr. P. C. Bagchi and Rāhul Sānkritāyana. The date and the identifications of the Buddhist Siddhas or their exact number also are not the subject matters of discussion in this paper.

The Siddhas (who were Vayrayānist or Tantric Buddhist sages and missionaries) adopted the spoken language of the people as their medium of expresion, and they preached amongst the common and lowly people. Their simple 'dohas', while using most widely undestood and experienced similis and metaphors, at the same time express subtlest philosophical ideas in the most direct and simple manner. Naturally therefore these 'dohas' when critically studied are bound to prove a veritable mine of informations on the contemporary socio-economic Conditions and the religious atmosphere in eastern provinces of Bihar and Bengal, Broadly speaking the

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picture that they give may be said to belong to the10th to the end of the 12th century A. D., when Tantricism was in absolute triumphant mood.

It appears that the Hindus put great faith in the utility of pilgrimages and in the worship of Brahmā, Vishṇu and Maheśa; the Buddhists also believed in the value of pilgrimages. But the siddhas appear to have anticipated Kabir and his way of thought, and have expressed deep vedantic truth 'God with in', and hence utter uselessness of worship of plethera of deities and of pilgrimages.

Tillopāda seys—

वम्हा विहणु महेसुर देवा
(वोहिसत्व म करहु सेवा)
देवम पू जहुति (न्य) ण जावा।
देव पूजहि ण मोक्ख पावा।
बुद्ध आराहहू अविकल चित्तें
भवणिब्बाणे करहु रे थित्ते।

Sarhapa-says—

किन्तह तित्थ तपोवण जाई
मोक्ख कि लभई पाणी न्हाई।

Similar idea of God is in you and donot wander in search of Him is expressed in this verse by Sarahapā—

उजु रे उजु रे छाडि मा लेहुरे वंक
निअरि वोहि मा जाउरे लंक।
हाथेर कांकण मा लेउ दापण
अपणो अपा बुझतु निअमण।

Highest truth God is one, though seen as many is expressed in the verse.

एक देव वहु आगम दीसई। अप्पण इच्छे फुड़ पड़िहासई

There are references to pilgrimages to गंगासागर and बनारस, and to holy Gangā and Yamunā.

गंगा-जौना माझौ रे बहई नाई।

The Siddhas refer to many so called lowly castes some of whom were untouchables and lived in huts outside the main centre of habitation. They also refer to such people who had

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promiscuous setual relations. Such people are referred to as छिनाल or छिनाली । Sarahapā also refers to डोम्बी, चण्डालि । Reference to a Brahmin student secretly visiting the *domin* in her hut outside the city does reflect the loose social morals of the period. Kanhapā says.

नगरे बाहिरे रे डोम्बि तोहरि कुड़िया
चोई चोई जाइसो ब्राह्मण नाडिया ।

Krishṇavajrapā says about चण्डालि, डोम्बी, छिनाली ।

There are numerous allegorical references to boat in the river and to the boatmen, and the fare that boatmen charged for ferrying across. All these show the vigorous use of river traffic by the common people. Even boats without mast (दण्ड) are suggested. Kauris and Baudis, probably smallest units of money were paid for crossing the river on boats डोम्बिपा says कौड़ी न लेई बौड़ी न लेई सुच्छड़े पार करई । Silver and gold coins were also in vogueo Bhusukupā says सोणत रुअ मोर किम्पि ण थाकिउ ।

There are references to certain ornaments popular in these days. Krishnacharyapā refers to नेउर (निपूर), रवि-शशिकुंडल । Other subjects of domestic and social interests mentioned are खाट (cot) डमरु (drum), घण्टा (Gong) वीणा (lyre). Among domestic relations सास (mother-in-law) and ननन्द (sister-in-law, husband's sister) are mentioned.

Incidentally the 'Dohas' raise many interesting problems. Some of the names of the siddhas such as Dombipā, Telipā may suggest that some of the siddhas themselves came form the low classes and that may explain partly their being at home in similis and metaphors drawn from the lives of the plebian classes. It is true that their verseś apparently describing obscene ideas or even scenes, and easily expressing promiscuous setual relations and experiences are mystically connected with deep spiritual experiences; but at the same time these may convay the impression that the siddhas, atleast many of them, were preaching their ideas among the common and

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lowly placed peoples who could appreciate and understand the spiritual message only in the terms and metaphors conveying the picture of their actual living conditions and habits. It is not impossible that because of their own upbringing and the environment in which they were working, the siddhas ridiculed the scholastic discussions and the scholers, in which according to them the truth was lost in the useless glitter. Sarahapā says

पण्डिअ सअल सत्य वक्खाणई
देहहि बुद्ध वसन्त न जानई।
अवणगमण ण तेण विखण्डिअ
तोवि णिलज्ज भणई हउ पण्डिअ ।

Again he says

मन्तह मन्ते हसन्ति न होई
पडिलभिति कि उट्ठिअ होई

—the total contempt for hairsplitting scholastic differences is expressed here.

TWO ANTHROPOMORPHIC NĀGA FIGURES FROM GUJARAT.

By

Shri R. N. Mehta.

Ophilatory is practised in India from very early period as evidenced by literature and Monuments. The long standing tradition of Nāga worsip is responsible for the development of complex mythology found in the religious texts of the Hindus, Buddhists and the Jains.

Various myths preserved by them suggest that the Nāgas are conceived as having the body of a serpent;but they have the power to take the shape of any human,[1] animal[2] or inanimate object.[3] In their malevolent aspect they destroy men, birds beasts and trees by their sting, breath or sight or steal various precious objects, and put human beings to trouble. But in their benevolent aspect they protect

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men from rain, storm, heat, poison and other troubles. They guard the wealth and the household, and are believed to be the incarnations of the manes. They grant children and wealth to their worshippers. Their main abode is in the underworld but move in the three regions; in their abode they have luxurious palaces and fine surroundings. Their women folk is depicted as extremely lovely and marry from time to time with human heros.

Analysing these complex Nāga personalities. Barth mentions[4] that their worship has the following characteristics.

(1) Direct adoration of the animal.

(2) Worship of the deities of waters, springs and rivers symbolized by the waving from of the serpent.

(3) Conceptions of the same kind as that of Vedic Ahi, and connected closely with the great myth of the storm and struggle of light with Darkness.

The worship of Nāgas and numerous legends connected with it have lead to the development of their sculptures. Nāga sculptures are found in the art of India throughout the ages, and in all the provinces.

Typologically the Nāga figures could be subdivided into the following three main division:—

(1) Theriomorphic representation.

(2) Anthropomorphic representation.

(3) Therio-Anthropomorphic representation.

The theriomorphic variety is fairly widespeard in time and space. It is either monocephalic or polycephalic with three, five seven or more expanded hoods. The body in this variety shows coils of various types.

The second variety has the following three forms:—

(a) Human beings with serpent hoods on the turban or top of the head. The hoods ranging from a single one to three, five, seven or more. They appear to spring from the neck of the individual or from the back or are decorations on turbans. This variety is also fairly wide spread and is commonly met with in the art of Ancient India.

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(b) In this variety human figure is seen in the front. On the sides of the human figure, the coils of serpent are visible; on the back also the coils of the serpent are seen from the feet upto the shoulders, and from this point springs the polycephalic hoods in the form of a halo.

This is rather a rare variety. Its earliest specimen are possibly from around Mathura. G. Ph. Vogel remarks that, "In most of the Nāga images from Mathura it is quite clear that the hood is not conceived as an excrescence springing from the back of the human frame. It forms a part of a complete serpent whose coils are plainly visible both at the front and the back of the sculpture."[5] One of the image of this type discovered from Chhargaon is dated in the 40th year of the Kushāṇaera and was erected near a pond in the reign of Huvishka. This fact suggests that such independent cult images were possibly manufactured for the first time in Indian art at Mathura, in the early centuries of Christian era.

(c) Only human figures identified as Nāga's from the circumstantial evidence of their being attacked by Garuḍa, their arch enemy. This is rather a rare type mainly found in the Gāndhāra school.[6]

The third variety has the upper part in human form and the lower part in the form of a snake. This also is a very common type seen at many sites.

From Gujarat all the varieties are known, but the sub type C of variety 2 is unknown. Here the two images of variety 2 and subtype A B are noted. The sub type 'A' was first published by U. P. Shah in Kumar.[7]

It is a fine marble figure of a young man sitting in lalitāsana, with his right leg resting on a seat. He holds flower in his right hand, whereas his left hand rests on his thigh. Near the left shoulder is a lotus flower on a stalk. He puts on yajnopavīta; bracelets, armlets and Kuṇḍalas made of spherical beads which may be pearls. His hair is suggested to have been well combed. On his head are seen three hoods of snake, each having two large round eyes. The construction of the headdress is reminiscent of heavy chignons known from the figures which could be dated to Circa. 7th or 8th century of Christian era.

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In front of the seat of this Nāga are seen the figures of Nāga and Nāgini of variety 3. Their lower portion is enterwined forming a reef knot.

This Nāga with simple halo, roundish compassionate face with plump cheeks and well proportioned youthful body full of vitality and grace resembles stylistically to such figures as Bhairava from Baroda, Jina of the figure ascribed to Jinabhadragani. Kshamasramana, and those from Idar area. These figures have been dated to 7th or 8th century on paleographic and stylistic grounds, hence it is reasonable to agree with U. P. Shah who assigns it to the 7th century A. D.

The variety 'B' is represented by the highly worn out sandstone figure recently discovered by the author from Pavi Jetpur, Jabugam taluka, Baroda District. Its head is mutilated. The front of this figure depicts a standing human being with the right hand in Abhaya-mudrā and the left holding an indistinct roundish object which might be a Kamaṇḍalu or a flower. The torso of the figure is plain, but on its lion is seen a girdle of two strings, and loop of garment(?)in the front. On the back is seen the body of snake meandering from the bottom to the top. The reptile is very well shown by the scales of the animal. At the five loops in the body of the snake the stone is perforated.

Such figures are apparently not seen in the Indian art preceeding that of Kushāṇas, but from Mathura area they are found to exist from this period, as indicated by the Nāga figure from Chhargaon, a village, 5 miles south of Mathura.

It is very likely therefore that the Jetpur figure is not earlier than the Kushāṇa period, but follows the tradition of Mathura school, hence it could not be ascribed to a period earlier than 2nd Century A. D.

The style, developed at Mathura, seems to have spread over a large area as can be inferred from the Sundarpada images of Nāga and Nāginis'[8] The Pot-bellied, heavy human figure of the Nāga and heavily dressed massive figures of the Nāginis are reminiscent of the Yaksha and Yakshi figures of the earlier type. But the method of treatment of snake is much nearer the Mathura figures. These figures apparently had inspiration from very well made Mathura

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images, and hence they point to the fusion of the Nāga motif from Mathura and the older tradition of Yaksha figures. These figures therefore seem to have been carved in 2nd or 3rd Century A. D. under the influence of Mathura motif.

Towards Gujarat also this very motif inspired the carving of the Jetapura Nāga. Here the techinique of perforating the loops seems to have been an innovation that is not seen on the Kukargaon or Chhargaon images. This developed technique and dress suggests that this figure is rather later in date.

The tradition established at Mathura seems to have existed at least upto 6th or 7th Centuries if not later as can be judged by the seated Nāga figure from Nālandā. In comparision with this Nālandā figure, Jetpura Nāga shows earlier treatment of dress and body hence one is tempted to put it to an earlier period than the Nālandā image.

The circumstantial evidence of the find-spot of the figure also helps to arrive at the date of this figure. The findsopt is a small mound about 50' square and rising to a height of about ten feet from the adjoining field on the right bank of the river Orsang. This mound is full of bricks. The brick bats here measured $12" \times 11" \times 2+2\frac{1}{2}."$ In absence of the availibility of a complete brick, it is difficult to measure its actual size. But these brick bats suggest that its original is larger than 12." In this part of the country the bricks larger than 12" have been discovered from the layers of early historic period I i.e. from the beginning of Christian era to about 6th Cent. A.D. From this mound some sculptures of Goddesses, and Kārtikeya, assignable to about 5th or 6th Centuries of Christian era on stylistic evidence have also been recovered.

The evidence of the mound and sculptures therefore point that the figure belongs to the early historic period I. The stylistic affinities show the influence of the Mathura school powerful under the Kushāṇas. The sculpture therefore belongs to the early historic perid I.

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1. MBH, Ādi Parvan iii Pausya Parvan, Story of Uttanka and Takshaka, where Takshaka appears as mendicant.

2. MBH, Ādi Parvan XI. XI iii

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3. MBH, Karṇa was helped by snake as arrow.
4 A., Barth Religious of India, (1882), p. 226 ff.
5. Vogel, J. Ph. , *Indian Serpent lore*, p. 42-43.
6. Vogel. J, Ph. *Ibid.*, plate XV, a, b.
7. U. P. Shah, *Gujarat Ma. Ṅāga puja*, Kumar, Sept. 1955.
8. S. C. De, "*There Ancient Nāga images from Bhuvaneshwar and Ṅāga cult in Orissa*, The Orissa Historical Research Journal, Vol. III, No. I, June 1954, p. I. ff.

ON THE IDENTIFICATION OF A FEMALE FIGURE AT BARHUT.

By
Sri K. K. Ganguly.

The railings which existed around the stūpa at Barhut contain a rich store of sculptured tradition of ancient India. Different componant parts of the railings have got representations of different kind. On the uprights there are full size figures, on crossbars and also on some uprights there are medallions while the coping stones show continuous friezes of sculpture. These friezes represent various Jātaka stories, the medallions mostly scenes from the life of Gautama while the standing figures represent divine and semidivine spirits which were held in reverence by people in the contemporary society but here shown as respectful to the great personality of Buddha.

A remarkable feature of the sculpture of Barhut is that many of the friezes, medallions, panels and the full size figures are given necessary labels for their easy identification, a practice rather rare in ancient Indian art.

From the labels, where found, the figures on the stambhas(thavas) could be identified as Kubera the Yaksha, Sirimā the devāta, Chakravāka the nāgarāja etc. But a good number of the figures are found without any label giving rise to speculation in regard to their identification. Some such figures have been tentatively identified by scholars who have so far worked with Barhut Sculpture. These

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identifications are of supreme value as far as the study of Indian iconography is concerned.

The renowned scholar Dr. Benimadhab Barua had made a thorough study of the art of Barhut. To him goes the credit of identification or partially suggesting the possible identification of many of such unlabelled figures. He identified one interesting female figure[1] as Padumchchharā, a lotus nymph.[2] The figure stands in an upright frontal position on the pillar upon full blown lotus flower coming out from water. She is of youthful appearance and wears ornaments of usual Barhut type. Her hands are engaged in the manipulation of a stringed instrument mentioned by Dr. Barua as a harp. This type of stringed instruments are frequently met with in ancient Indian sculpture, on the painting at Ajanta as well as on Gupta Coins. The instrument is undoubtedly the Indian type or *Viṇā* Dr. Barua refers to dancing women mentioned in Pali texts, these dancing women would cater to the pleasure of Śakra and would dance on lotus.[3] Such women were called lotus hymps (Padumcharaṛā). He also mentioned that she may be regarded as an early iconic form of the Hindu diety Sarasvatī. It is evident from his treatment of the figure as a padumchcharā than Sarasvatī. His preferential identification does not bear scrutiny because during this period the godess Sarasvatī was pretty well known and there is no harm as taking this figure as the earliest known representation of the goddess of that name.

The figure it may be pointed out is not shown in a dancing pose but merely stands on a lotus; also he holds a Viṇā in her hands. If she was to be represented as a Padumachcharā, she should have been shown as dancing; moreover there would be no occasion for her to have a Viṇā. On the other hand it appears that the godess Sarasvatī was not unknown during this period. Because Sarasvatī is a godess known from the Rigvedic age.

Sarasvatī was originally a river, regarding the identification of which there is a considerable controversy.[4] But there may not be any great doubt that the present Sarasvatī confluencing with Gangā at Prayāga was meant. It was been mentioned by the Rigveda as Nadītamā, of the foremost of rivers.[5] At no time however the Sarasvatī could be a very large river or could have reached the sea as authors

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of the Vedic Index held.[6] Its height of eminence rest elsewhere. Even as early as that time appears that the river was considererd as divine. In the Āpre hymns occurs a goddess Bhāratī, the personified divine protective power of the Bharatas. Her association in the hymns with the Sarasvatī reflects the connection of the Bharata with Sarasvatī. Apparently Sarasvatī and Bhāratī became identical at a fairly early age. In the Brāhmaṇas Sarsavatī is mentioned as a river but she begins to occur as a divinity in the Purāṇas. In later literature different dhyānas are found describing the form of the deity. There are different anecdotes to be found in the Purāṇas. A scrutiny of these references can help in the tracing of the evolution of the devine concept of Sarasvatī. In one of the Puraṇās there is a story indicating how a quarrel between the two consorts of Vishṇu, Sarasvatī and Gangā resulted in their mutually cursing each other. Consequently they both were converted into rivers and got associated with Brahmā and Śiva respectively. In this story the knowledge about the two deities having originally been rivers is implied. Another fact is that Sarasvatī was at one time known as a consort of Brahmā. This fact is supported by the evidence of Matsya Purāṇa where Sarasvatī is called a consort of Brahmā.[7] In mediavel ages she is often shown with a swan as her Vāhana. This animal also shows her connection with Brahmā. No dhyāna however mentions swan as Vāhana of Sarasvatī. In the later literature she is described as a consort of Vishṇu. A full Stotra of Sarasvatī is found in the Tāntrik texts,[8] where she is one of the aspects of Devī. She is described there as seated on lotus, having Vīṇā in her hands and named as Bhāratī. So far a figure found at Mathura and belonging to the 4th cent A. D. has been considered to be the earliest image of Sarasvatī. Figures of Sarasvatī begin to appear in art from the early mediaval age, though independant inmages of Sarasvatī are comparatively rare. Most of the dhyānas relate her as fourhanded, having a book, rosary and Vīṇā. But in most of the figures and quite a considerable number of them, which occur as side figures of images of Vishṇu, she is shown having two hands playing on the Vīṇā. This form of Sarasvatī closely correspond to the figure found on the pillar mentioned above. She stands on a lotus; she has in her hands a Vīṇā. Under

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the circumstances it may not be unreasonable to take her as a representation of Sarasvatī devatā and not as Padamchchharā as suggested by Dr. Barua.

1. Barhut III, Scene 81.
2. Barhut II, p. 75.
3. Suttanipāta Commentary Paramāthajātika II. pp. 368-69.
4. Vedic Index I, 434 ff.
5. Rv. 11, 41, 16.
6. Vedic Index -1. (Bharata) 434.
7. Ch. III.
8. Tantrasāra p. 579.

A NOTE ON THE CANDELLA-GAHAḌAVĀLA RELATION IN THE LATE 12TH CENTURY

By

Shri Nisith Rajan Ray.

The conflict between the Cahamānas and the Candellas may be said to have reached its culmination when the Cahamāna and Candella thrones were respectively occupied by Ptithivirāja III and Paramārdi. The Candella records do not refer, for obvious reasons, to this contest in which Paramārdi suffered reverses. The records of the Cahamāna king however make positive claims of success. Of the three epigraphic records discovered in the temple of Śiva at Madanpur,[1] the first inscription records the name of Prithvirāja of the Cahamāna-Vamśa, who came to the country of king Paramārdi and the second one gives the genealogy of Prithvirāja and records that in (V) Samvat 1239 (C. 1182-1183 A. D.), he conquered the country of Jejakabhukti. Madanpur has been identified with a village bearing the same name situated 124miles to the South-east of Dudhai, 35 miles to the south-south-east of Lalitpur and 30, miles to the north east of Sagor. This identification naturally places the village within the territories of the Candella kings. This together with the

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fact that the inscriptions. distinctly refer to (a) Prithvirāja presence in the country of Paramārdi and (b) the conquest by him of the country of Jejakabhukti make a strong, if not irrefutable claim in favour of Prithvirāja's success against the contemporary Candella ruler. The conflict referred to in these records is also described in stray verses in literary works like *Sārangadharapaddhati*[2] and the *Prabandha-Chintāmaṇi*.[3] The Mahoba-Khaṇḍ of *Prithvirāja Rāso* not only gives a detailed account of the conflict but also refers to the annexation of Mahoba and the plunder of Kālanjar by Prithvirāja who is further credited with having appointed a governor in the former place. But this success of Prithivirāja does not appear to have been lasting as there is epigraphic evidence[4] supplied by Candella sources to show that the territories conquered by the Cahamāna ruler were recovered by Paramārdi within a year. Dr. Ray, in discussing the context makes the observation. "There is at present no definite means to find out how long the Cahamānas retained their hold on the western portion of the Candella territory; but if the title of Darsanādhipāti given to Parmārdi in one of his Kālinjar inscriptions is not a mere boast, he may have receovered a substantial portion of nis territories sometime before A. D. 1201.[5]

While the conclusion of Dr. Ray seems reasonable, and liable to acceptance, difficulty arises when he relies on another item of information supplied by Chand Bardai in connection with the story of the contest between Prithvirāja and Paramārdi. The court poet of Prithvirāja gives addtitional information that Jayachandra, the Gahaḍavāla king, rendered assitance to Paramārdi in is struggle agsint Prithivirāja. Dr. Ray accepts the reliability of this additional information and concludes "it is also not unlikely that Jayachandra may have really assisted the Candellas in their struggles, for the Mau Inscription indicates friendly relation between Paramārdi's grandfather and the Gahaḍavālās.[6]

The Mau Inscription referred to here is the inscription discovered at the foot of a rocky hill in the vicinity of the town of Mau in the Jhansi district of Uttar Pradesh. Lieut. Prince first published a transcript and translation of this incription in the *Asiatic Researches*[7]. Since then it was fully edited by Kielhern[8]. The inscription consists

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of 29 lines, but a considerable portion of it, is greatly damaged. The Inscription, however, throws considerable light on some aspects of the inter-state relations in the second half of the 12th Century. It attests to successful wars being waged byMadanavarman against the Kalachuri king whose territories lay to the south-east of the Candella Kingdom. It also dwells upon the relationship between the Gahaḍavālas and the Candellas. One of its Verses[9] contains a statement to the effect that "through dread of Madanavarman the king of Kāśī always passes his time in friendly behaviour." This passage has been taken to mean by Dr.Ray that the relation between the Cahaḍavāla king of Kāśī and Madanavarman Candella had been friendly. This interpretation of friendly relations between the two has led him to the further conclusion that the Prithvirāja Rāso version regarding Jayacchandra's help to Paramārdi against Prithvirāja Cahamāna is substantially correct. A persual of the Rāso account as well as of available epigraphic records do not however justify such a conclusion.

(1) Firstly, the Rāso cannot be treated as sober history.

(2) Secondly, the Rāso account makes the two Banaphar heroes repair to Jayachandra's court after their exile by Paramārdi. This precludes any possibility of freindly relation existing between that Candella king and the Gahaḍavāla ruler.

(3) Thirdly, if friendly relations existed between Paramārdi and Jayachandra, the former could be reasonably expected to come to the aid of the latter in his war gainst Muhammad Ghori. But the evidence of any such help being made available to Jayachandra by his Candella contemporary is conspicuously lacking.

(4) Lastly, the Mau Inscription does not bear out any free reciprocity of friendship between the Candellas and the Gahaḍavāla king of Kāśī. It clearly describes the friendship as an imposed one, being an outcome of fear on the part of the king of Kāśī. It is not unreasonable to suppose that this fear was possibly due to some hostile demonstration by the Candella king. That the relation betwen the Candellas and the Gahaḍavālas had been hostile from earlier times is well-attested by evidence, epigraphic as well as literary. The Kāśīrāja referred to in the Mau Inscription has been identified by

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some with Vijayachandra[10], by others[11] "with Govindachandra. The inscriptions of Govindachandra range over a peribd of 40 years (A.D. 1114-1154) and those of Vijayachandra fall between 1168 and 1169. The Kamauli grant[12] of his son dated in V. S. 1126 shows that Vija yachandra's reign terminated in A. D. 1170. Thus both these rulers may be said to have been contemporaries of Madanavarman Candella (1129-1163 A. D.), Of the two it seems more probable that Vijayachandra corresponds to Kāśīrāja cf the Mau Inscription more than his illustrious father, who has to his credit victories against the Candellas[13]' the Pālas[14] and the Kalachuris[15] and could not be said" to have passed his time in dread of the Candella ruler." The success of Govindachandra against the Candellas did, not doubt, prove to be short-lived, since there is evidence to the effect that Madanavarman succeeded in recovering the lost possessions from the Gahaḍavālas[46]. But the recovery by the Candella ruler of the territories originally belonging to him, could not obviosly bring his Gahaḍavāla counterpart to such a state of helpless ness as to make him"pass his time in fear of the Candellas." The Chandella move was to all purposes directed towards recovery of territories which formed parts of he Candella Kingdom and not aimed at despoiting the Gahaḍavāla king of anything which formed integral parts of his ancestral kingdom. It is also significant that in an inscription discovered at Sarnath[17] and issued by Kumāradevī, queen of Govindachandra, the latter is described as the Protector of Vārānasī from the Turkish armies. The fact that as many as 14 copper-plates of Govindachandra have been found near Vārānasī also makes it reasonable to suggest that he retained his firm hold on Banaras and in the circumstances he could hardly be identified as in Kāśīrāja living in constant fear of of the Candella king and professing friendship for him.

Even if epigraphic evidence is lacking to show any incidents of hostility between Madanavarman and Vijayachandra (whose reign had only two notable events to its credit, viz. a struggle with the Moslems and (b) a conflict with the Cahamānas of Ajmere), there is literary evidence in support of renewal of conflict between the Candellas and the Gahaḍavālas. In the preface to the dram Rambhāmanjari.[18] the author, Nayachandra Suri refers to Jayachandra,

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the son and successor of Vijayachandra, as "a new incarnation of Rāma whose mighty arm is like a pillar to lether the elephant of fortune of king Madanavarmadeva." The point raised in some quarters that Madanavarman who died in 1169 A. D. could not have been cotemporary of Jayachandra whose accession took place in 1170 A. D. has been adequately met by Pandit B. N. Reu[19] in whose opinion the success attributed to Jayachandra was won by him in the capacity of the Prince Regent during the life-time of his father. At any rate evidence points to continuity of hostility between the Candellas and the Gahaḍavālas-a hostility which dates from the beginning of the 12th century. It was the command of the Ganges-Jumna Doab which proved to be the bone of contention between the Chandellas and the Gahaḍavālas. The fragmentray verses 38 and 39[20] of the Mau Inscription probably echo the tradition of an actual conflict between Chandella Sallakshanavarman and his Gahaḍavāla counterpart. The conflict thus initiated was the precursor of a prolonged contest between the Candellas and the Gahaḍavālas which continued right upto the end of the 12th Century. In the circumstances the opinions expressed by Dr. Ray to the effect that(a) "The Mau Inscription indicated friendly relations between Paramārdi's grandfather and the Gahaḍavālas.[21] that "there was friend ship between the Gahaḍavālas and the Candellas.[22] and the "the struggle which according to Cand was opened with the battle on the Pahuj may well have been duel between these two allies on one hand the Cahamānas on the other[23] require to be modified.

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1. A. S. R. Vol. XX, Plate XXXII, Nos. 9, 10, 11.
2. Ed. P. Peterson, Bombay 1888, V. 1254
3. Indian Culture, Vol. XI, P. 60. F. N. I.
4. ASR, Vol. XXI. pp. 37-38.
5. Dynastic History of Northern India, Vo.. II. p. 720.
6. Ibid, p. 720
7. EI. Vol. XII, p. 357-354
8. E. I. Vol. I (pp. 195-207).
9. "Kālam Sauhārddyabrittyā Gamayati Satatam Trāstah Kāśī rājah''. (E. I. 1 Vol. I, pp. 198-204.)

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10. Tripathi-History of Kanaoj, p. 323.
11. Bose-History of the Candellas, p. 38.
12. E. I. Vol. IV pp. 116-120.
13. E. I. Vol. XVIII, pp. 224-226
14. J.A.S.B. Vol. V. pp. 81-84; EI Vol. VII, pp. 98-100
15. J.A.S.B. Vol. XXI, pp. 123-124.
16. A. S. R. 1935-1936, p. 94.
17. E. I. Vol. IX. pp. 319-328..
18. Rambhamanjari, Act I. pp. 5-6
19. J. R. A S. Part I, 1932 . p. 13
20. E. I. Vol. I, p. 206.
21. Dynastic History of Northern India Vol. II. p. 720
22,23 Ibid, p. 1085.

THE YAVANA INVADER OF THE GANGETIC BASIN

By

Sri K. C. Ojha.

Some references to the invasion of eastern India by the Yavanas near about the beginning of the Christian Era, found in the Mahābhāshya, the Gārgī Samhitā, the Hāthīgumphā Inscription of Khāravela and a pasage of Strabo, leave little doubt on the point that one or the other of the Graeco-Bactrian kings ruling in the Indus basin advanced much in the Gangetic valley. Almost all historians think that this Graeco-Bactrian king was either Demetrius or Menander. However, this view seems to us to be quite questionable, if not untenable.

The theory that Demetrius or Menander was the invader of the Gangetic basin came to be evolved gradually with advancement of our knowledge of ancient Indian history on the basis of some data which are by this time proved to be untrue. Thus some time ago Patanjali was regarded to be a contemporaray of Pushyamitra, and his Mahābhāshya was thought to have been written during the reign of this king. So the references to the Graeco-Bactrian -invasion of Chittor and Sāketa, allued to in the Mahābhāshya, were taken to

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have happened in the reign of Pushyamitra. Now Pushyamitra ruled in the first half of the second century B. C. which is the time of Demetrius and Menander. So it was thought that only Demetrius or Menander could be the invader of the Gangetic basin. But by now several eminent scholars[1] have advanced good reasons to show that Patanājali need not be certainly a contemporary of Pushyamitra.

Dr. K. P. Jayaswal read the name of Demetrius in the Hāthigumphā inscription as well as the Gārgī Samhitā. But his fanciful reading has now been found to be baseless.

For taking Demetrius or Menander as the invader of the Gangetic basin some scholars have found support even from the fact that these kings have been bracketted in one pasage of Strabo as the greatest Graeco-Bactrian conquerors of India. "The Greeks who occasioned its (Bactria's) revolt became so powerful by means of the fertility and advantages of the country that they became masters of Ariana and India according to Apollodorus of Artemita. Their chiefs, particularly Menander (if he really crossed by Hypanis to the east and reached Issumus) conquered more nations than Alexander. These conquests are achieved partly by Menander, partly by Demetrius, son of Euthydemus, king of the Bactrians. They got possession not only of Patalene but of the kingdom of Saroastus and Sigerdis which constitute the remainder of the coast."

Here Strabo, no doubt, mentions Demetrius and Menander as the greatest conquerors of India. But the classical Greek geographer gives the utmost eastern limit of their conquests only to the Indo-Kabul basin. So far as the conquest of the Gangetic basin is concerned he is hardly ready to accept the utmost limit of Menander's conquest in this direction upto Issumus, that is, the river Yamunā or Kālindī. It means that Strabo never knew of Menander or Demetrius as the invader of the inner Gengetic basin. Dr. Tarn has brought to light one more pasage of Strabo which says that the Graeco-Bactrinas had conquered upto Pāṭaliputra. It shows that to Strabo's knowledge the Graeco-Bactrian invader of Pāṭaliputra was some one other than Dmetrius or Menander.

It seems that Menander and Demetrius conquered India only up to the Indus basin. In this region they might have come in

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conflict with Pushyamitra who might have inherited from the Mauryas a vast empire extending upto the Indus. The vague references to some warfare of Pushyamitra in the Indus basin found in the Mālvikāgnimitram, Divyāvadāna and the History of Tāranātha might be an echo of his fight with Graeco-Bactrians.

As a matter of fact there is little evidence for the point that in the time of Demetrius and Menander the Graeco-Bactrians penetrated in India, upto the Gangetic basin. On the other hand there are some great difficulties in the way of this assumption. Strabo himself puts the greatest limit of the eastern conquest of Demetrius and Menander to the river Issumus, that is, Yamuna or Kālindī. The Mahābhāshya, the Gārgī Samihitā and Strabo, who refer to the Graeco-Bactrian invasion of the Gengetic basin, provide us little clue for inferring the time of this invasion. We can, however, make some rough idea of the time of this invasion from the Hathīgumphā inscription of Khāravela, which is our another source of information of this invasion. Now most of the scholars are inclined to place Khāravela some three hundred years after the Nanda kings, that is, near about the beginning of the Christian Era. In his Hāthīgumphā incription this king refers to a Sātakarṇi ruler of southern India. One of these Sāta karṇi rulers namely, Gautamīputra Sātakarṇi claims in his Nasik cave inscription expulsion of the Graeco-Bactrians from his kingdom with that of the Śakas and Pahlavas. It is clear that the Graeco-Bactrians were occupying some parts of inner India in the time of Khāravela and Sātakarṇi kings, that is, about the beginning of the Christian Era. It is very likely that they entered into these parts of the country in the first century B.C.under the pressure of the Śaka and Pahlava invaders who seized from them the whole of the Indus basin.

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1. H. C. Roy Chaudhari, PHAI6, p. 315; D. R. Bhandarkar, Ind. Cult., I, p. 273 pp; Dela Valee' Poussin, Ind. Cult, II, p. 584 pp. D. C. Sircar, IHQ, 1941 and others.

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KUSHĀṆA BRĀHMĪ ALPHABET—A PROTOTYPE OF GUPTA BRĀHMĪ.

By

Shri Saktiprasad Basu.

Twenty five years ago, while editing the Mathura Pillar inscription of Chandragupta II dated G. E. 61, Dr. D. R. Bhandarkar expressed the view that the Brāhmī alphabet used in the Kushāṇa inscription at Mathura is the precursor of the alphabet in the former record. This view was suggested on the basis of a comparative study of the palaeography of the available Kushāṇa and Gupta inscription at Mathura. Pointed attention was drawn to their affinities in respect of the forms used off the letters k, kh, g, gh, j. p, b, bh, m, n, s and s'. Among the Gupta inscriptions, the Mathura pillar inscription of G. E. 61 furnishes the earliest specimen of the western variety of the alphabet commonly described as Gupta Brāhmī.' Its affiliation to the western variety is indicated by the use of those specific varient forms of letters i, s. and h which distinguished it from the eastern variety. Dr. Bhandarkar does not appear to have laid sufficient stress on the point which can be definitely established on a further palaeographical study.

Dr. Bhandarkar incidentally referred to the Mathura Kushāṇa inscription of the year 14. A detailed study of the script of this inscription reveals certain pecularities which are also shared by the Mathura inscription of Chandragupta II. Particular attention may be given to the letters l, s. and h and t, d, d, dha.

With regard to the letters l, and s, it can be definitely stated that the pecularities connected withthe western variety as noted by Buhler occur in the Kushāṇa inscription of the year 14. The Mathura inscription of Chandragupta II also reveals the characteristics in regard to these letters as well as h. It is to be noted in this connection that the kushāṇa inscription of the year 14 gives an instance of s, in the conjuct consonanant Sk. in Kaṇishka in L. 6. This agrees with the form used in the Mathura Gupta inscription as shown in sṭha in pratiṣṭha in L. 10. We may next note the similarity between "ta"

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in Pujārttham in C2 of the Kushāṇa inscription and "ta" in the satputrasya in C.2. of the Gupta inscriptions. In both the cases, the lower part of the right hand vertical of the letter is much elongated and the upper vertical stoke becomes flattered. With regard to the letter d, the forms in both the inscriptions are similar. In "dukkha" in L. 4 of the Kushāṇa inscription and in divasa" in L.3 of the Mathura inscription Chandragupta II the letter is represented by a form with a curve open to the right and a small vertical storke attached to the upper end of the curve--The left part of the curve slightly slants to the left. Attention may be drawn to the way in which the component parts of the conjuct ddha are represented and joined together in Sambuddhasaya in L.2 of the Kushāṇa inscription and in siddham in L. 1. of the Gupta inscription. In both the records the lower end of the curve of the letter d. stants slightly down words to which the letter dha is attached.

Dr. Bhandarkar has shown that specimens of m,s, and h of the eastern varity appear in the Kushāṇa inscription of the year 14. But the forms of the test letters l and s are that of the western-vareity as described by Buhler. Again I, s and h have the forms of the western variety in Chandragupta Mathura inscription through the forms of m and s appears to be of eastern variety. As both eastern and western forms were used at Mathura in the same records, no regional distinction seems to have been observed in respect of the Brāhmī alphabet current at Mathura in the period mentioned above. Subsequently however, two distinct varieties appear to have emerged with geographical distribution planned on a regional basis.

Evidence of the use of pre-Gupta forms of the Western variety being available, it will not be correct to hold that it evolved out of Gupta Brāhmī. The peculiarity of this variety may be traced back, as we have seen, to a much earlier date than the earliest of the extant Gupta inscriptions. The Kushāṇa inscription exhibiting the peculiarity maybe assigned to C. 92 A. D. if it is presumed that the era used by Kaṇishka began in 78 A. D.

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THE EPHTHALITE INVASION.

By

Dr. Suddhakar Chattopadhyaya

About the middle of the fifth century A.D., a great turmoil occurred in the political area of Central Asia. The Ephthalites, who were originally subordinate under the Juan Juan or the Avars of Chinese Turkistan, suddenly grew very powerful and began attacking their neighbours. They penetrated into the heart of India, attacked the empire of the Guptas and once a Gupta emperor become a vassal under them. Before however, we take up their history in India proper, we have to decide who they were, and when actually they entered into the *heart* of India, as much confusions still prevail on these points.

Some scholars believe that the Ephthalites were of Hunish origin. Thus it has been stated : "As early as the second century B. C. we find the nomadic Huns on the borders of China. Their quarrel with the Yueh-chi, a neighbouring nomadic tribe..led to the conquest of India by the Śakas and the Kushāṇas about the first century of the Christian era. Later the Huns, like the Yueh-chi, migrated towards the west, and divided themselves into two main streams, of which one flowed towards the Volga and the other to the Oxus. The activites of the former figure prominently in Roman history and need not be discussed here. The Huns in the Oxus valley threw off the yoke of the Juan-Juan tribe and became very powerful towards the middle of the fifth century A. D. From the name of their ruler's family they came to be known as Ye-tha, Hephthalites or Ephthalites, and the Greek accounts refer to them as White-Huns." (*The Classical Age*, pp. 34-5)

The Chinese writers are, however, always careful to distinguish between the Hiung-nus or the Huṇa proper, that quarreled with the Yueh-chi and compelled them to move towards the west in the second century B. C., and the ye-ti-li-do or ye-da, i.e., the Ephthalites. They further inform us that the real name of the people was Hua. As McGovern says: "According to one Chinese chronicle the Ephthalites

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were ultimately of the same origin as the Yueh-chi, according to another they were a branch of the people who inhabited Gushi or Turfan. According to the latter version the Ephthalites were descended from a group of Turfanese who in A.D. 126 aided the Chinese general Bang-yung in his attack upon the northern Huns and who afterwards settled in Zungaria." (*Early Empires of Central Asia*, pp. 404-5)

Thus if the Chinese account is to be believed, the Ephthalites were a branch of the Yueh-chis, and it would be wrong to think of them as the Hun. In Zungaria, the Ephthalites and the Hiung-nus or the Huns lived in close proximity, and thus in Europe as well as in India, they came to be regarded as a separate branch of the Huns. Thus Procopious says: "The Ephthalites are of Hunish race and bears the Hunish names, but they are completely different from the Huns. whom we know. They alone among the Hunish people have white skin and regular features." (Ibid)

Though the main body of the Ephthalites had thus been settled in Zungaria, a small bracnh of them possibly curved out another settlement on the Indian borderland. Thus Orosius who composed his account towards the end of the fourth or the beginning of the fifth century A. D. states that "betwen the sources of the Ganges and those of the river Ottorogorras, situated to the north in the region of the Paropamisades mountains, the Taurus mountain extends. The Caucasus mountain extends betweent he sources of the Ottorogorras and the town of Ottorogorras through the country of the Chuni, Scythes and Gandarides." The variants given in the different manuscripts for Chuni are Chunnos, Funos, Hunnas and Hunnus. (*Journal of the Greater India Society*, 1943) Thus about c. 400 A. D. there was no Ephthalite settelement in India proper, though they had been knocking at the door of the country. The condition seems to have been the same a hundered years later, for, from the Chinese sources mainly, Chavannes describes the extent of the Ephthalite empire in c. 500 A.D. as comprising Tokharistan, Kabulistan and Zabulistan, but no part of India proper. (*Documents sur les Toukire Occidentaux*,pp. 224-5)

The Bhitarī Pillar incription of Skanda Gupta (456-67 A.D.) refers to his terrible fight with the Hūṇas in which the latter were defeated,

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The Ephthalites evidently made an unsuccessful bid to found an empire in India. The next definite land-mark in the Ephthalite hitory is funished by the account of Sung-yun, who passed through Gandhāra and Udyana (Swat valley) about 520 A.D., and has left an account of the Ye-tha.

Thus it would appear that between 500 and 520 A.D., the Ephthalites entered India proper. Such an interpretation is corroborated by a critical study of three inscriptions from Eran. Thus an inscription of Buddha Gupta of the year 484 A.D. infroms us that the region lying between the Yamunā and the Narmadā was governed by one mahārāja Surasmicandra, while one Mātrivishṇu was the vishayapati of the division of Airikina of Eran. (*CII.* p.89). Another inscription from the same place of the year 510 A. D. show that king Bhānu Gupta went there with the purpose of conquest and his general Gopāraja fell in a battle there, while the latter's wife became a satī. (Ibid, p. 92f.) The third inscription is dated in the first year of Toramāṇa's reign, the Ephthalite king, and Dhanyavishṇu, the brother of Mātrivishṇu, had been acknowledging the sway of thr Ephthalite lord.. (*Ibid*, p. 159f) The above epigraphs clearly show that sometimes after 484 A.D. the vishaya of Airikina passed from the Guptas to the Ephthalites,but scholars are divided in their opinions regarding the time of the incident. According to some scholars, the Ephthalite conquest of Eran and the interior of India began in c. 510 A.D., and the inscription of that year shows that Bhānu Gppta came to check the inroad but failed. Others hold that the Ephthalite occupation of the interior of India came to an end in 510 A.D. by the conquest of Bhānu Gupta. In order to come to to a definite conclusion, we must discuss here the account of the *Si-yu-ki*, which throws interesting light on the history of the Ephthalites in India. An analysis of the account gives us the following facts:—

(a) that Mihirakula, the son of Toramāṇa, the Ephthalite king, was the lord of a considerable portion of North India, and king Bālāditya of Magadha was a vassal under him;

(b) that Mihirakula was ultimately defeated by Bālāditya, but he then sought and obtained an asylum in Kashmir;

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(c) that Mihirakula then killed the king of Gandhāra, exterminated the royal family, plundered the wealth of the country and returned;

(d) that he died within a year.

It is thus clear that Tormāṇa's son Mihirakula was a contemporary of king Bālāditya of Magadha.As we have an inscription of Toramāṇa dated in his first regnal year and another of Mihirakula dated in his sixteenth regnal year, it may be assumed that the Ephthalite occupation of the interior of India lasted for 17 years, if no more, and that Bālāditya also ruled during this period.

Now, if we hold that the Ephthalite rule came to an end in c. 510 A.D.,then it must be assumed that the rule of the foreigners in the interior of India began c. 493 A.D., or a little earlier. But the Chinese sources, as pointed out by Chavannes, clearly indicate that as late as 500 A.D. "no part of India *proper*" was included within the Ephthalite empire. Furthther, the *Si-yu-ki* states that the Ephthalite rule in India peroper was put to an end by Bālādiya,and there is absolutely no proof that Bhānu Gupta ever assumed that title The complete silence of the record of 510 A.D. regarding the achivement of any victory by Bhānu Gupta shows that he evidently could not fare well in the battle referred to. Possibly, Bhānu Gupta went to check the Ephthalite advance into the interior of India, but failed. Thus we get the synchonism:—

C. 510 A.D.—The first year of Toramāna's rule in the interior of India.

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ROCK SHELTERS OF MALWA (Summary)

By

Sri V. S. Wakankar

India is not devoid of Painted Rock-Shelters and Caves and in the first quarter of this century several such rock shelters were brought to light by several Western as well as Indian Scholors like Bruce Foote, John Cockburn, Percy Brown, Fawcett, Methues, P. W. Schimdt Nirmal Kumar Bose, Panchanan Mitra etc.

Rock Paintings have been found at the following sites, Billa Sargam Edakal, Wynadd, Mirzapur, Klat, Singapur, Kapagallu ( ) Atau Bhandar Likhunia, Ghomanger etc.

Recently I have discovered several such Rock Shelters near Bhanpura (Mandsuar Dist. of Madhya Bharat). Here these are hundereds of natural caves and rock shelters scattered among the escarpements of the outer ranges of Vindhyas which extend in a line to the north Bhanpura. On 4th of June 1954 I ventured to enter these deep forests in search of these caves and inspected nearly half a dozen caves along the southern slopes these hills. Mr. Rodmalji directed me to a cave and as I reached the place I saw two big rock shelters full of Primitive Drawings hither to unknown to the out side world. I could enter them through a well paved un cemented platform probably built in the medieval period to facilitate the pilgrims and tourists who must have come here for a timely resort.

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IS ORISSA THE BIRTH PLACE OF VEDAVYĀSA AND CHITRĀNGADĀ (Summary)

By

Prof. G. S. Das.

At the village Panposh situated at the confluence of the rivers Śankha and Koili not far away from Rourkela in Orissa, a grand fair knowne as Vedavyāsa melā is held annually since times immemorial in the month of Falgun in the dark half of the moon. The fair is traditionally believed to be held in honour of the birth of Vedavyāsa and the composition of the eighteen Purānas. Vyāsa cult or Vyāsa worship is widely prevalent in Orissa. There is a village named Vyāsasarovara near the present Jaipur-Kenjhar Road on S. E. Ry, where a big fair is held annually. Panposh is in ancient surroundings. Round about it are to be found prehistoric painting of Sinbanpur in Raigrah district in Madhya Pradesh. Palaeolithic and neolithic implements have been found in Sundargarh district. In view of these facts, Panposh in Orissa may be regarded as the birth place of Vedavyāsa.

Chitrāngadā and Ulupī the Nāga princess of the Patāla region of Eastern India were also daughters of Orissa, ancient Kalinga. Arjuna's sojsum in the region of Mahendāragiri hills is mentioned in Mahābhārata. In south Orissa there is an ancient temple dedicated to the goddeas 'Mangalā' also called Hengulā, who was the patron deity of Babhruvāhana. An Oriya scholar Sarala Das of the 15th century A. D. in his Oriya translation of the Mahābhārata makes Kalinga the venue of Arjuna-ulupī Chitrāngadā romance. Nāgas appear to have ruled over wide regions of Eastern India upto 600 B.C. The Nāga king of Patāla region is said to have married Ulupī to Arjuna and gave Chitrāngadā in dowry to him. This custom of giving maidens in dowry is prevalent among the princely families of Orissa. Some of the ruling families of Orissa

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such as Kalahandi claim descent form the Nāga dynasty. Gajapati kings of Orissa possesd serpent totem. In view of this Orissa's claim to be the home of Chitrāngadā is to be given due consideration. It is possible that in these days Orissa with Manipur comprised the wide province of Patāla in Eastern India.

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SECTION II

MEDIAEVAL INDIAN HISTORY

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SECTION II

PRESIDENTIAL ADDRESS

By

Sukumar Ray

Ladies and gentlemen :

I remain deeply thankful to the Executive Committee of the Indian History Congress for the position they have conferred on me by electing me president of the Mediaeval Indian History section at this nineteenth session of the Congress. I should frankly confess that I feel rather oppressed by this honour which I value more than I deserve and which makes me all the more conscious of my own short-comings. I have, however, accepted it, confident as I am of your co-operation and of your indulgence as well.

As you all know, this section now has a far wider scope, covering as it does the entire Indo-Muslim scene of our country's history. Hitherto there had been two sections, based on the conventional and convenient division of Indo-Muslim history into pre-Mughal and Mughal periods. Indo-Muslim history is one organic whole; and the achievements of the Mughal emperors should be looked upon as the consummation of the work begun by the earlier Turkish and Afghan rulers of Delhi, though there were considerable differences between the police state of the earlier period and the state of the grand Mughals which was an approach to a culture state. Besides, this division rather ignores the course of South Indian history which only occasionally felt the impact of the North. The year 1526, so significant in North Indian history, has no such significance in the history of South India. The merger of the former two sections (III and IV) in one is, therefore, amply justified.

Here in the historic city of Agra we meet at the close of the year 1956; and four centuries back early in 1556 took place the accession of the architect of the Mughal empire with whose memory this city shall ever remain associated. Not only modern Agra was founded by Akbar and it was the capital of his empire for a considerable time,

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but only twenty-three miles from here lies the proud metropolis of the great Mughal where his mind is still reflected in garments of stone and clay', to quote the picturesque words of Abu'-I-Fazl; and not more than five miles from this place lie his mortal remains at Sikandra. Agra and Fathpur Sikri, as Akbar built them, were much greater and more populous than the then London and dazzled the eyes accustomed to the grandeur of Elizabethan England. Through the early pioneers of England to India the fame of Agra travelled as far as the the British Isles so that Milton could sing in his *Paradise Lost* of 'Agra and Lahore of Great Mogul.' It is, therefore, so befitting that the nineteenth session of the Indian History Congress is being held this year at Agra in commemoration of the fourth centenary of Akbar's accession. For, the illiterate Timurid was not only the archetiect of the Mughul empire, but he was one of the hinges of India's long and colourful history. As the distinguished historian Freeman says, 'in his age he stood alone, not only in Islam, but in the whole world Catholic and Protestant Christendom might both have gone and sat at his feet'. It is a pity that the reputation of this truly great soverign, who is a contribution of India to world history, has suffered at the hands of Jesuit Catholicism and Sunnite bigotry. The illuminating study of Binyon has to a certain extent redeemed it, but it is a brilliant sketch,not a full portrait. Von Noer's *Kaiser Akbar* is rather a study in hero-worship, and the author had not ample materials at his disposal when he wrote more than three quaters of a century back; while Vincent Smith's *Akbar* is 'a work of uneven value,' as Mr. Payne has well described it. It is time, therefore, that a comprehensive study of the Great Mughal and his Age was undertaken. It would be quite befitting if the Indian History Congress would undertake the publication of such a work as a memorial volume with the collaboration of scholars who are experts on the subject.

To the modern world, howover, Agra is not is much the city of the emperor who rests at Sikandara as it is the city of the Taj, 'the Venus de Milo of the East.' Under Shah Jahan who bulit this noble mausoleum, Mughal royalty reached the summit of its glory when the court and palace of Agra caused the amazement and

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exacted the admiration of travellers who were familiar with the pomp of Versailles under the Sun King. Indeed Agra was *par excellence* the city of the grand Mughals who live on through ages in her splendid monuments and there is no better place in the Indo-Pakistan sub-continent which treasures their memory in a livelier way: and there are few places in India which can inspire the Muse of History with deeper feeling than this city on the bank of the Yamuna. It is rather surprising that Agra, where one can hear the very accents of History. should hold, not the first or the second, but the nineteenth session of of this annual gathering of India's historians and votaries of Clio.

I am afraid I may be disappointing you, as I can neither give you a scholarly dithyramb nor possibly tell you anything that has not touched upon by some of my predecessors during the last eighteen years. I should, therefore, like to emphasize only a few points in relation to the study of Indo-Muslim history which suggest themselves to me as deserving your proper notice and careful attention, though they may appear to you rather pedestrian. The literature on Indo-Muslim history lies scattered in a large number of unpublished MSS. in various collections of India and Europe as well as in printed texts and modern works in different languages., published here and abroad. A full bibliography of original sources for Indo-Muslim history is a necessity and would be of considerable help to research work in this field. So far as the Persian sources are concerned, Dr. Storey has rendered a great service by the publication of his valued work: *Persian Literature* which has been recently completed. The works of Messers, Khare, Sri Ram Sharma and Bendrey also desrve mention in this connection. An annual bibliography of all publications on Indo-Muslim history, books and papers in various journals in different languages, has become an indispensable neccessity. The one, published by the Bombay Historical Society, so far as I know is, not being continued. That is also the case with the volume issued fron Leiden, which of course, did not fully serve this purpose.

The second problem is the availability of this enormous material: primary sources and modern publications. There is no research library in our counrty like the library of the British Museum at

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London or the Bibliotheque Nationale at Paris. The National Libray at Calcutta was meant to be one by its gifted founder but his objective has not been realized. The Indian History Congress should appeal to the Government of India to make it a full-fledged research library. The libraries of bigger universities and of learned societies should procure photostat or microfilm copies of the more important MSS bearing on Indo-Muslim history so that the researcher in this field does not feel handicapped as he does now. Besides, these libraries should possess all important modern publications, books and journals as well. Steps should be taken at the same time for expediting the publication of collated texts of the more important MSS. under the auspices of the universities and other learned bodies. They should also make organized search for MSS and documents which are still lying in posession of old families throughout the country. A revised edition of Elliot and Dowson with supplements on provincial kingdoms as originally planned, would be of considerable service. Aligarh has unfortunately stopped at volume II, the only volume published so far.

The third problem is the co-ordination of research. Research work is carried on by scholars at various universities and other centres, but they are not in contact with one another and are generally ignorant of the subjects on which work is being done at various centres of research. In this way the patient work of a sincere researcher might be anticipated and sometimes wasted simply because he was ignorant of the fact that another scholar had already been working on the same subject. Some subjects may lend themselves to simultaneous studies by more than one scholar, but many of them do not. Even a veteran like Irvine had to alter his sibject when he came to learn that another scholar had been working on it.

Another problem is the linguistic difficulty. A knowledge of some of these languages—Persian, Marathi, Rajasthani, Tamil, Telgu and other vernaculars as well as Portugues. Dutch and French—is essential for the advanced study of different aspects of mediaeval Indian history but scholars do not obtain enough facilities for learning some of these languages at the universities. This is a serious handicap. Of course there are people who know some of these langauges quite well, but

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what is necessary is that historians and students of history should equip themselves with this knowledge. An historian's work does not properly admit of division of labour: 'he must quarry his own stones and build with his own hands', as Trevelyan says. Great have been the services of linguists to the cause of historical research in India, but it is necessary to remember that linguists and people who know the languages and historians are not synonymous terms, and historical study has sometimes suffered at the hands of people who know the languages but are vastly ignorant of history and historical method. History does not stand on mere tabulation of facts, but on their proper assessment and relationship with one another.

Some of these questions were raised at the Madras session of the of the Indian History Congress in 1944, which adopted resolutions of the effect "that the Indian History Congress should maintain a record of the subjects on which research workers are engaged and publish the same in a bulletin half-yearly' and 'organize the preparation and publication of bibliography of Indian historical subject.' It is time steps were taken in all these directions.

A re-orientation in the assessment of sources and in the choice of our themes is also necessary to a certain extent. More emphasis should be given to numismatic and epigraphical evidences as well as to Hindu sources, though they cannot yield so abundant information as do the Muslim chronicles. The history of mediaeval India has been mainly viewed through the eye of the conqueror: hence the importance of the Hindu version, the version of the conquered. We are told by a group of scholars that too much work has been done on political history and there should be a stop. They conveniently forget that until we have set forth clearly political history, we cannot study the history of society and culture. The later Tughluqs, the Sayyids and the Lodis; and more important than these, the various provincial kingdoms of the North excepting Gujarat, Orissa and Bengal: Hindu states of the North excepting those of Rajputana and Muslim kingdoms of the Deccan excepting the Bahamani empire—all these require further study, though work has been done on some of them which remain unpublished: possibly university theses.

Besides, there still remain scope for biographical studies. Of late

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there has been a tendency to deprecate the biographical aspect of history and overestimate the statistical approach. This would make history dull, prosaic and colourless. All our mediaeval figures for biographical studies may not be Carlyle's heroes' or Emerson's 'representative men,' yet the biographies of the prominent personalities in vaious aspects of life would give us true picture of the times. Raziya, Chand Sultana, Rani Durgavati, Nur Jahan, Jahanara and Zib-un-Nisa; Bairam Khan, Abdur Rahim, Man Singh, Todar Mal, Shayista Khan and Murshid Quli Khan to name only a few: prominent Hindu and Muslim saints as well as eminent men of arts and letters do lend themselves to biographical studies. These biographical studies should not be mere records of men and women who are dead: we should bring them back to life and live in our midst and feel that they too were 'warm-blooded realities,' just as we are. Considerable work has been done on the biographical aspect of mediaeval Indian history, but our biographical studies have generally suffered from one major defect: we make heroes of our figures, even though they are not; we thereby do injustice to them.

We should, of course, turn now seriously to administrative, social and economic history. The administrative system of the Sultanate of Delhi has not been so carefully studied as that of the grand Mughals. A study of the provincial and local administration as well as the military system under the Sultans of Delhi would be profitable. The social aspect of Indo-Muslim history has been sadly neglected. Dr. Ashraf's able treatment of the subject covers the period: 1200-1550 and it is mainly based on Mulsim sources and relates mainly to Muslim society. Social life in some of the provincial kingdoms has been studied, but the picture of mediaeval society as a whole has yet to be drawn. No longer can the modern historian subscribe to the dictum of Lane-Poole and Vincent Smith that the history of India is the history of her kings. Literature, particularly vernacular literature, folk-lore and nursery songs, the *maktubat* and the *mulfuzat* produced in the *khanggahs* of the Muslims, the art of painting and the minor arts, accounts of European travellers and the records of the East India Company enable us to have a view of the society and the people during the mediaeval period. Though there were two societies

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rather than one; Hindu and Muslim societies and they generally ran on parallel lines, yet there were aspects of life in which the two mingled and blended and tended to make one harmonious whole. Hindu and Muslim societies deeply influenced one another. Dr. Tara Chand's monograph deals only with some aspects of this influence and that from one angle only. The other angle remains to be studied in detail. Considerable work has been done on the various schools of painting during this period, but these studies have been from artistic and not from sociological point of view. The arts have been justly called 'a veritable picture-book of human life.' True, the art of this period was mainly concerned with court life, but in Rajput art we find occasional glimpses of the common man and his way of life.

The economic history of mediaeval India remains to-day almost where Moreland had left it. The three volumes of Moreland—so lucid and stimulating—should serve as models for future economic historians, though we may not agree with all his conclusions. The entire period before Akbar remains to be studied. The times of Aurangzib have to a certain extent been covered by Dr.R. K. Mookerjee's recent publication. Industrially India was more favourably placed in relation to Europe than she is now and the volume of her foreign trade was considerable. A comprehensive study of these aspects would be highly interesting and profitable.

During Muslim rule India had contacts with the outer Islamic world, particularly Persia and Central Asia; and though the title of our organization is Indian History Congress, thre should be no bar to our taking up the study of Persian and Central Asian history of the period, which is not unconnected with our own. The Safavis of Persia and the Timurids of Central Asia offer fruitful studies for the historian. What a more arresting figure could there be than the grand monarch of Khurasan: I mean Husain Mirza Baiqara under whom Herat became the Mecca of Islamic civilization ! Even Shaibani Khan the Uzbeg desrves the historian's attention : he was not the devil he has been painted in his enemy's autobiography, the truly famous Babur-nama. A study of Abdullah Khan of Bukhara would lead to a better assessment of Akbar's Central Asian policy and his relations with the court of Isfahan.

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The meaning of Croce's dictum that all history is contemporary history can well be realized in regard to the mediaeval period of Indian history. Some of the great problems of those times are still with us. Firuz Shah Tughluq and Sikandar Lodi, Firuz Shah Bahmani and Mahmud Bigarha of Gujarat, Shah Jahan and Aurangzib, Zain-ul-Abidin of Kashmir, Ibrahim Adil Shah II of Bijapur and Akbar; Kabir, Shaikh Ahmad the *Mujaddid* and Dara Shukoh—all have left lessons for us which we cannot afford to forget. We should not merely reconstruct the history of the mediaeval period: we should re-live it.

A knowledge of the history of mediaeval India is therefore, essential for the modern citizen: it will help in removing prejudice and misunderstanding as well as suspicion and fear born of ignorance. Though considerable work has been done regarding this period, people hardly read these books: indeed history has become divorced from the general reading public. It is read only by professional historians and professed students of history. It is because our publications are either highly technical research works or mechanical textbooks, neither of which appeal to the general reader. As he goes through the former, he feels himself like one fails to find a way through the wood because of trees. As he persues the latter, he feels himself confined within the narrow walls of the class room or somewhat wider ones of the examination hall. We should now seriously think of writing history that is accurate and at the same time readable and pleasantly so. A few attempts have been made by authors who are expert traffickers in words rather than historians, who have based their works not so much on facts as on imagination roaming at large and who sometimes have not hesitated to sacrifice accuracy on the altar of a style that is at best flamboyant. *The History and Culture of the Indian People*, which is being published by Bharatiya Vidya Bhavan, Bombay, under the able editorship of the one of the foremost historians of our country, Dr. R. C. Majumdar and his valued colleague Dr. A. D. Pusalkar, will supply this need to a considerable extent. Yet, besides this syndicate history, there is need for independent works by individual authors on different aspects of mediaeval history. Historians of our country have done and are still doing valued work in the quarries; some of them should now

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work at the edifice and rise to the stature of architects. For Clio's temple is not a mere heap of stones.

Before I conclude, I should like to emphasize one more point. It is very often complained that the study of Indo-Muslim history was started and developed by foreigners, particularly by English scholars and that they offered a prejudiced view of our country's past. There is considerable truth in this complaint, though we should not ignore the services of Blochmann, Irvine, Beveridge and others who had sympathy for India and her culture. The study of Indo-Muslim history is now mainly in the hands of Indian scholars. We should now be cautious lest the pendulum should swing to the opposite extreme and truth be suppressed in a fever heat of irrational patriotism or morbid parochialism. The study of the mediaeval period needs greater caution, for it lies snadwiched in between prejudice and zeal, contempt and adulation. Some would treat this period as a mere chapter in the history of Islam; others as but a chapter in the history of India. Some would regard Muslim rule in India as 'an utter failure' and view the history of this period as but a register of crimes, passions and follies; others would consider the Nero of India as a benevolent despot, her Philip II as the perfect man and the ideal king and her police state as a full-fledged culture or welfare state; and there are still others who would write as apologists. 'The harm that onesided history has done in the modern world is immense. When history is used as a branch of propaganda, it is a very deadly weapon' –so warns the distinguished historian of England, G. M. Trevelyan. Yet, this exactly is being done today somewhere under the sun. Not many years ago a quite well-known Islamologist of India, while emphasizing the necessity of re-writing the history of mediaevel India and warning against the influence of politics upon the writing of history, gave the following advice to historians: 'The aim of writing the history of India must be to unite and not to disunite the different peoples living in this country.' This raises a very grave issue; should history be used as a branch of nationalist propaganda? Historians should be in the service of truth –and not in the service of a cause. What a mighty historical genius the world lost in Macaulay, because of his loyalty to Whiggism ! We all know

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how difficult it is to realize this ideal. You could find out the Athenian in the historian of the world'—I mean Thucydides whom Freeman gives the epithet. Mommsens's bias for Caesarism could not be covered under the mass of his solid scholarship. Even the seven volumes of *The Decline and Fall of the Roman empire*, which were written with the motto: 'truth naked, unblusing truth,' have been regarded as impious and profane and the recluse of Lausanne has been bitterly criticized as an antichrist. Yet that should be our ideal, however difficult. Our writings should not reveal us as a Hindu, or a Muslim or Christian, so that without looking into the names of authors the reader would find it difficult to detect their caste or creed. In his instructions to the contributors to *The Cambridge Modern History*, Lord Acton said: 'Our Waterloo must be one that satisfies French and English, Germans and Dutch alike.' We should bear this in mind and see that our Panipat satisfies the Afghan and the Mughul, the Rajput and the Maratha alike.

I thank you, ladies and gentlemen, for your kind and patient hearing.

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KARPURADEVĪ (MOTHER OF PRITHVĪRĀJA CHAUHĀN).

By

Dr. N. S. Bose,

In the annals of the history of Rajput dynasties innumerable names of kings and queens are mentioned. But of all these names the name of Prithvīrāja Chauhān is widely known more due to the romantic story of the abduction of Sangjuktā than any thing else. But hardly anybody knows anything, perhaps even heard of Karpuardevī, the mother of Prithvīrāja Chauhān.[1]

Our chief source of information is the famous Sanskrit work Prithvirāja Vijaya. The Prithvīrāja Vijaya records the history and achievements of the Chauhān kings of Delhi and Ajmer. Only one manuscript copy of the poem is in existence. It was discovered in Kashmir by Dr. Buhler in 1875. The name of the author of the work is unknown. The author probably was a court poet of Prithvirāja, as in the first Sarga, the emperor is expected to listen to the recitation of the poem. According to H. B. Sarda, the author was a Kashmiri Pandit named Jayanaka whose entry in the court of Prithvirāja is recorded in Sarga XII. It was composed probably during the lifetime of Prithvirāja. For the accuracy of historical information as well as for its literary merits the work is important. It enjoyed great popularity during 14th and 15th centuries A.D.[2]

According to the Prithvirājā Vijaya, Chauhan ruler Arnorāja (A.D. 1139) the grand father of Prithvirāja III, had two queens-Sudhavā and Kānchandevī. Sudhavā had three sons. Kānchandevī had one son whose name was Someśvara. Prithvirāja was the son of Someśvara. Kanchandevī's father was the famous Chālukya ruler Siddharāja Jayasimha of Gujrat.

"As the astrologers had foretold that Someśvara's son would be an incarnation of Rāma, so his maternal grand father took him (Someśvara) away to his court. The astrologers said that when Rāma declared that after incarnating as Krishṇa and Buddha, he

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would also incarnate, Kausalyā said she would also incarnate as his mother, and Lakshmaṇa, said he would be his brother."[3]

After the death of Jayasimha, his nephew Kumārapāla Chālukya brought up young Someśvara. Someśvara married Karpuradevī, daughter of Achalarāja the king of Tripuri.[4] The marriage and name of the queen are also mentioned in Hamīṛa mahākāvya.[5]

By Karpuradevī Someśvara had two sons-Prithvirāja and Harirāja. These sons were born to Someśvara when Vigraharāja IV was the Chauhān ruler.[6] To clearly understand the subsequent events a very brief outline of the preceding history of the Chauhān dynasty should be Mentioned.

As already stated above, Arnorāj Chauhan had two wives-Sudhavā and Kānchandevī. Sudhavā had three sons and Kānchandevī had one. Arnorāja was murdered by his eldest son. Though the name of the son is not mentioned in the Prithvirāja Vijaya, we know from other sources that his name was Jugadeva.[7] But Jugadeva could not be on the throne for long. Before he could consolidate his position he was dethroned by his younger brother Viśāladeva. Viśāladeva assumed the name of Vigrāharāja IV.[8]

It is interesting to note in this conection that even before the murder of his father Arnorāja to the succession and ruler of Vigrahārāja IV, Someśvara with his wife and two sons was living in the Chālukya kingdom. Perhaps Someśvara was aware that the life of his family may be in danger in the Chauhān kingdom due to the conspiracies and political intrigues.

Vigraharāja IV heard that two sons have been to his step-brother Someśvara. He was pleased and he died in peace. He was succeeded by his son Apara-Gāṅgeya. Apara-Gāṅgya was unmarried. He died after a very short reign and was succeeded by Prithvībhaṭa, the son of the eldest son of Sudhavā i.e. Jugadeva.[9] One is inclined to suspect that the death of Apara-Gāṅgeya and the succession of Prithvībhaṭa were not natural. This assumption is further strengthened by the Dhod stone-inscription of Prithvībhaṭa which states that Prithvībhaṭa won a victory over the king of Sākhambhari by the strength of his arms.[10] Prithvībhaṭa did not rule for long. According to the Prithvirāja Vijaya after the untimely death of Prithvirāja,

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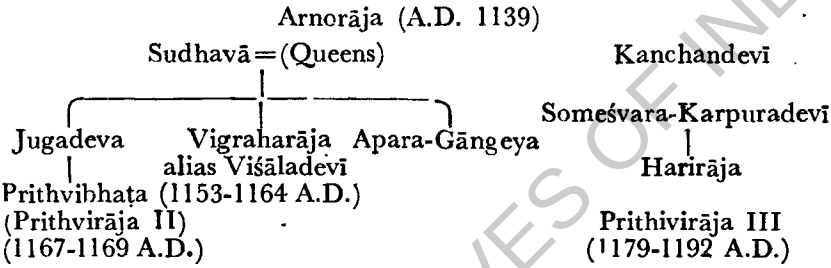
the ministers of the Chauhan kingdon brought Someśvara to the Sapādlaksha country, and Karpuradevī entered the city of Ajmer with her two sons Prithvirāja and Harirāja.[11] Someśvara thus became king after the royal crown has changed hands for not less than four times. Perhaps the succession of Someśvara was due to ministerial intrigues in the Chauhān capital. The order of succession can be more clearly understood from the following geneological table:—



One wonders what were the feelings of Karpuradevī when she entered the Chauhān kingdom after such a long time. The 8th Sarga of the Prithviraja Vijaya beautifully expresses the regards of the Chauhān people for Karpuradevī. By entering the city she made the city virtuous. She was as if goddess Lakshmī herself. As Fortune brings with her charity (Dāna) and enjoyment (Bhoga) so Karpuradevī brought with her those two virtues to the kingdom, i.e. after a long period of political turmoil and disorder the people enjoyed under Someśvara a period of plenty and prosperity.[12]

No doubt there are poetic exaggerations in the above expressions but undoubtedly these express the feeling of the Chauhān people for their new Queen.

When Someśvara died after a glorious reign his eldest son Prithvīrāja was still a minor.

"So before leaving this world he had appointed the Devī or the queen (Karpuradevī) to protect his son in childhood",[13] The fact that instead of giving the regency to trusted ministers of the kingdom Someśvara gave the heavy responsibility to Karpuradevī proves the king's confidence and faith on the ability of his wife.

The difficulties and danger that Karpuradevī had to face in prof tecting the kingdom can easily be understood by any student of

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early medieval Indian history. After the decline and downfall of the Pratihāra empire North-west and central India was divided into a number ol small Rajput states who were struggling incessently for supremacy in Northern India. At the sametime the Moslem invaders were trying to penetrate into North west India and with the defeat and death of Jayapāla and his son Ānandāpāla of the Sahi dynasty of Punjab the grave responsibility of resisting the Moslem invaders fell on the Chauhāns of Delhi and Ajmer.

Vigrahārāja IV came into conflict with the Moslems.[14] Their is also reference to conflict between Prithvībhaṭa and the Moslems.[15] There is no mention of any war between Someśvara and the Moslems, but the story of Prithvīrāja's war with Muhammad Ghori is known to all. So it is evident that of the many enemies against whom Karpuradevī had to protect the kingdom were the Moslems. That she was successful in her task and built up a mighty Chauhān army is apparent from the events of Prithvirāja's reign.

The relations between the Chandelas of Jejākabhukti and the the Chauhāns were not friendly and stories of war between Prithvirāja and Paramārdi Chandela are well known.[16] Stories of conflict between Jayachandra Gāhaḍavāla and Prithvirāja Chauhān are too well known to be repeated. All these were not sudden or isolated wars but only different phases and events of one general long drawn struggle between the different Rajput dynasties for supremacy in Northern India. So Karpuradevī had always to be on guard against possible invasions from powerful neighbouring states like Gāhaḍavālas and Chandelas. That the Chauhān kingdom was not attacked during the regency of Karpuradevī is a tribute to the efficiency and strength of the queen.

Karpuradevī was ably assisted by the Chauhān ministers, particularly by Kadamba Vama[17] Karpuradevī was also helped by one Bhuvanaikmalla who came to the Chauhān court to find out how "the son of his elder brother's daughter was protecting the earth." He saved Prithvirāja and Harirāja from some trouble. As Rāma and Lakshmaṇa suffered trouble owing to Meghnada's Sarpapāsha and Garuḍa eventually saved them from the pāsha, so in this birth Bhuvanaikmalla the incarnation of Garuḍa ever served Rāma and Laks-

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maṇa (i.e. Prithvirāja and Harirāja)..Like Garuda Bhuvanaikmalla extirpated the Nāgas.[18] These Nāgas have not been identified. According to H.B. Sarda the Nāgas refereed to here were probably the Nāgavansi tribes.[19] Probably confronted with some serious difficulties Karpuradevī sought the help of her uncle Bhuvanaikmalla and with his help she got rid of her enemies.

Besides the external enemies the queen had enemies within the country. The descendants and relatives of Someśvara's step brother, ambitious nobles and ministers must have been seeking opportunity to take advantage of the king's minority. But the queen withstood all these difficulties firmly and brought up Prithvirāja properly and thus carried out her duties courageously and efficiently.

Karpuradevī was a very efficient administrator. The ninth Sarga of the Prithivirāja Vijaya gives a description of the capital during her regency. The city was so densely populated and there weres o many gardens, tanks and wells that not more than one-tenth of the earth was visible to the sun, and water in the wells was only two cubits from the ground surface. The priests carried out their duties properly for the welfare of the country. There was no oppression of the subjects. Equality was the order of the country. Everybody performed his own duty. The queen is described as "Dānujadisi" i.e. Dānavaśatru (enemy of the evils). She founded a new prosperous town. During the regency of Karpuradevī Rāmrājya was established in the Kali Yuga.[20]

When Prithvīrāja came of age Karpuradevī handed over the responsibility of govt. to his son. The name of Karpuradevī is practically unknown to students of Indian history. But as the above facts have revealed, Karpuradevī undoubtedly set an example of Rajput womanhood which deserves a special mention in the pages of early mediaeval Indian history.

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1. In the Chauhān dynasty of Delhi Ajmer we find three rulers named Prithvirāja ruled-Prithvirāja I (1105 A. D.); Prithvirāja II (1167-1169) and Pritjvirāja III (1179-1192).

2. Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society, 1913 pp. 259 ff.

3. JRAS. 1913 pp, 259 ff. This story implies that Prithvirāja,

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his brother Harirāja and their mother Karpuradevī were the incarnations of Rāma, Lakshmaṇa and Kauśalyā respectively.

4. JRAS. 1913. Evidently Someśvara married Karpuradevī while he was in Gujrat. Tripurī is identified with Tewar near Jabbulpur in Central India. This Achalarāja has not been identified and Dr. H. C. Ray thinks that he was a petty chief in the Chālukya court who cliamed Haihaya lineage and relationship with the Tripuri branch, Dynastic History of Northern India, vol II, p. 1081 fn.

5. Hammīramahākāvya. p. 16.

6. DHNI ? Vol II, p 1081,

7. Dynastic History of Northern India vol. II, p, 1074,— (The other works are Hammīra Mahākāvya, Prabandhakośa Surjan Carita

8. Ibid.

9. DHNI, vol, II, p, 1078.

10. Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society 1913, p, 276, f. 2.

11. Journal of the Regal Asiatic Society, 1913.

12. Prithvirāja Vijaya.—8th Sarga.

13. JRAS. 1913, p. 277.

14. Indian Antiquary, vol. XX, pp, 201 ff.
Indian Antiquary, vol. XIX, pp, 215-219.
Dynastic History of Northern India, vol, II, p, 1077.

15. Dynastic History of Northern India, vol, II, p, 1080,

16. Histery of the Chandellas, N. S. Bose pp, 93-96.

17. JRAS, 1913, pp, 277, n, I. He is also known as Kādamba Vāsa, Dynastic History of Northern India, vol, II, p, 1083.

18. JRAS, 1913.

19. Ibid.

20. Prithvīrājā Vijaya—9th Sarga.

ON SLAVERY IN MEDIEVAL INDIA

By

Shri Asit Kumar Sen

Slavery was a drag on Mediaeval Society. The Slaves in Mediaeval India no doubt received generally better treatment at the hands of their Master's than the Negro slaves of the Ninteenth centuary. But economically slavery was a course of cheap supply

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of labour, politically it helped the autocracy, morally it proved unjustifiable.

Condition of the work cum-slave—The free labourer faced a stiff competition from the slave labourer, in those days, because a free labourer, however poor and helpless he might be, enjoyed under the Islamic law, certain rights which the slave did not aspire to enjoy

Thus under the Islamic law, every artificer whose work produces a visible effect upon an article (such as dyer) is at liberty to detain such article until he received his hire.[1] But a slave did not enjoy any such right as privilege, on the other hand he was a property of master. A master had authority to beat his own slave or to put him to death even like a sheep or a cattle.[2] A slave has no property, in the eye of the Muhammadan law.[3] Naturally, it was easier and more useful to employ a slave rather than a free man. The slave can be utilised for any and every work, for domestic work and for personal comfort the slaves were purchased, and employed. The female slaves were employed for various other purposes like singing, dancing and the most beautiful among them served as concubines of the rich Amir and Maliks, and in the royal establishment. True it is that often the slaves were treated as family members, but that is no compensation for the loss of freedom. Moreover, when the the slave became useless, from either sickness or old age or for some other reason they were to be sold away, according to the opinion of some Muslim political thinkers.[4] Thus the institution of slavery served to support the parastic class in the society.

The slaves, at the same time, were useful and skilled workers, and were employed in the Karkhanas of those days. There were several Karkhanas or manufacturing centres directly under royal supervision. Thus the author of Masa-lik informs us that the Sultan has a factory in which 400 silk weavers were employed, and the Sultan keeps in his service 500 manufacturers of golden tissues. "Every year Sultan distributes" says the author of Masalik, "200000 complete dresses, 100,000 in spring and 100,000 in autumn. The spring dresses consist primarily of the goods manufactured at Alexendria. Those of autumn are almost exclusively of silk manufactured at Delhi or imported from China and Iraq. Dresses are also distributed to the

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monasteries and hermitages. "During the reign of Firoz Shah Tughluq there were 36[5] Karkhanas. These were incharge of Khwaja Abu-i-Hasan khan.[6] Under the same sovereign who had a fad for collecting slaves, altogether 12,000 slaves became artisans; others were provided with various kinds of jobs, such as copying the books, acting as guards, or as royal retainers or as domestic servants. Thus the slaves served various purpose.

During the Muslim rule in India, some of the Sultans starting from Kutub-ud-din I-Bek to Ghiasu-d-din Balban were originally slaves, and naturally it has been argued that the system of slavery was a source for providing the state with able statesman, and slavery was no bar even for the highest office of kingship. Some writers go to the length of asserting that it was the deterioration in the quality of slaves that contributed to the fall of the Turkish Sultans.[7] But such an assertion is misleading and fallacious because it was not the deterioration of slavery, but slavery itself, that contributed to a great extent to the downfall of Turkish Sultanate. From the very beginning of Muslim history in this country powerful slaves like the "Forty" of Illtutmish created anarchy and confusion inside the kingdom, and Balban though one of the Forty was forced to suppress them, for fear of their becoming more powerful than the Sultan himself. Malik Kafur, the favourite slave of Ala-ud-din Khalji was responsible to a large extent for the death of the Sultan, and the ruin of his family. Khusrau Khan, the parwar favourite of Sultan, Mubarak Khalj rooted out the Alai family, and caused the death of his master. The slaves took an active part in the Civil War that started from the last days of Firozshah Tughluq[8]. Stray instances of the rise of one or two slaves to power by dint of exceptional ability and genious do not prove in any way that slavery was the source of greatness, on the other hand they show conclusively that even among men condemend to lead their lives as slaves, there were able persons whom society had degraded to a low status. Slavery was a drag on the socio-economic system of those days, because it helped despotism to maintain itself in power, because it degraded labour, and because slaves competed with free labour and ousted it. Its existence in mediaeval India was in no way a fact which can receive

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appreciation at the hands of 20th century historians.

1. The Hediya-translated by Hamilton Vol. III pp. 320.

2. Hediye Vol. I. pp. 545—a master has authority to beat his own slave, and is therefore entitled to authorise another to do so. Vol. I pp. 161—Marriage of a slave male or female not lawful without the the master's consent. See also volume-I pp. 166.—"If a man marries his female slave to another person, and afterwards puts her to death, before her husband has had carnal connexion with her, no part of the dower, whatever is, in this case, due from the husband according to Hanefa."

3. Baillia— A digest of Muhammedan Law Vol. I. pp. 24.

4. Early Muslim Political Thought by Haroon Khan Sherwani—pp. 224.

5. Elliot and Dowson-History of India as told by her own historians Vol. III appendix C.P.P. 578.

6. Afi f. pp. 270, 337-339

7. Agha Mahedia Hussain—Rise and fall of Muhammad-bin-Tughluq p. 9.

8. Tārikh-i-Mubārak Shāhī, translation K. K. Basu pp. 146-147.

SHAMSUDIN ILLIYAS SHAH'S INVASION OF NEPAL

By

Mr. S. K. Saraswati.

1. It is generally believed that Nepal has never been infested by the Muhammadans. No Muslim chronicle records any Muhammadan invasion of Nepal. The late K. P. Jayaswal first drew the attention of scholars to a Sanskrit inscription which records an invasion of the Nepal valley by the armies of Sultan Shamsuddin Illiyas Shah of Bengal. He however failed to read correctly the date of the invasion as given in the inscription and the consquent mistake has also been reproduced in the History of Bengal, Vol. II, published by the University of Dacca under the distinguished editorship of

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Sir Jadunath Sarkar. Recently, the author was enabled to examine the inscription in question during his trip to Nepal for a survey of Manuscript Libraries in Nepal. Further he saw another inscription which also furnishes data regarding this Muslim invasion of Nepal. A third reference to the same invasion is found in a copy of the *Vamśāvali* of the Nepal kings compiled about the end of the fourteenth century, i.e. very soon after the invasion. The present article is based on the data furnsihed by the above evidences.

2. An inscription at Pātan (ancient Lalitapurī), dated N. S. 477/ A. D. 1357, refers to the depredations caused by the invasion of one Yavana king named Samasdina, and the restoration of a spoliated chaitya, as a result of the invasion, by a Māhāpātra of the name of Meghapāla or Meghavarmā.

Śrutāna samasdina-yavanādhirājah Nepāla-sarvanagaram Bhashmīkaroti.

The date of the invasion, however, is not given in this record. All that we know is that it happened before A. D.1357, when the said chaitya was restored by the minister.

3. A second inscription, the one noticed by Jayaswal, may still be seen in the shrine of Svyambhunātha and is dated N.S. 492/ A.D., 1372. This inscription supply more details. It is stated in the inscription that while Jayarāja was ruling Nepal, in the year 470 of the Nepal era Suratrāna Samasdina, along with a large army of Bengal, came to Nepal and sacked and burnt everything.

Saptatyabhyadhike śrīmat-Nepālābda chatuhsāte
mārgasīrshe site pakshe dasāmyām guruvāsare//
Suratrāṇasamasdina Bangāla-bahulairbalaih /
sahāgatya cha Nepāle bhagno dagdhaścha sarvasāh //

After sometime king Jayarājadeva died and he was succeeded by his son Jayārjuna and it was in his reign that one Rājā Harsha, a grandee of the kingdon, rebuilt the Dharmadhātu stūpa and carried on restorations of the monuments. It is of these pious works which were recorded in the inscription, and apparently all such works were completed by N. S. 492/ A. D. 1372, the date recorded in the inscription.

4. Jayaswal read the date of the invasion as *saptashashṭhādhike*

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and interpreted it as N.S. 467/ A.D. 1346-47. He was of opinion that the invasion took place in 1346 A.D.and this is the date of the invasion given in Dacca History of Bengal, Vol. II. The reading *saptatyabhyadhika* is, however, clear and the author has closely examined the passage in question. In the light of this examination the date of the invasion has to be corrected as having happened in A.D. 1350, not in A.D. 1346 This record further furnishes clues to the identification of the yavana invader byl inking him with the army of Baṅgāla. He could be no other than Sultan Shamsuddin Illiyas Shah of Bengal, the founder of the independent Sultanate of Bengal, who reigned from A.D. 1334 to A. D. 1357.

(Incidentally the inscription also contains many significant data for the history of Nepal which the author proposes to deal with else where.)

5. The third reference to the invasion of Shamsuddin is recorded in a copy of the *Vaṁśāvali* discovered long ago by Bendall. One folio, which has been reproduced in Śāstri's Catalogue of palmleaf and paper manuscripts in the Durbar Library, Nepal, Vol. I, records the incidents of Jayarāja's reign along with dates. Under the date N. S. 469/ A.D. 1349 there is a significant entry. Jayarāja came to the throne in N.S. 467/ A.D. 1347. He had serious troubles facing him. There are records that there had been disorder in the kingdom due to struggle for the throne .He had to face the forces of disintergration due to such rivalries. And already in N.S. 468/ A. D. 1348 he had to draw upon the treasury of the Lord Paśupati. In the following year the treasury of the Lord was again drawn upon. It is recorded that in the same year Samasadina, the Suratāṇa of the East, came to Nepal, broke Paśupati into three pieces and burnt the whole of Nepal and the entire people lamented.

Samvat 468 Vaiśākhapaurṇamāsyām Śrī-Jayarājadevena Śrī-Paśupatibhaṭārakasya kosha pradhokitam // Tena tatra pūrva-suratāna Samasadinenāgatya Nepālam Śrī-Paśupati-strikhanṇḍīkṛita, Nepālasamastabhashmikṛitanam hāhākaronti lokaścha//.

6. From the above, it will appear that Shamsuddin Illiyas Shah's expedition to Nepal was accompanied by wanton pillage directed mainly against the principal shrines in the valley. It might have been

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a political move, but it is doubtful if it had any success politically. King Jayarajādeva was, certainly, put to great straits, so far that he had to draw upon the treasury of the god Paśupati twice. The first shock of the invasion fell upon the celebrated shrine of Paśupati in A. D. 1349, next came the turns of Patan and Svyambhū, and everywhere it was the same story of pillage and fire. It reminds one of the ruthless expeditions of Sultan Mahmud. By N. S. 470/ A.D. 1350 the shrine of Svyambhū was devastated. Apparently the invader seems to have left the valley soon after, and it was probably on his way back to his kingdom that he invested Tirhut, as is recorded, in A. D. 1352.

7. It was probably this invasion which resulted in the gradual rise to power of Jayasthtirājamalla who was to supplant the dynasty of Jayārjuna by his own on the throne of Nepal. The Svyambhū inscription, it is notable, refers to the latter as a king, almost on a status of equality with Jayārjuna.

CORRESPONDENCE OF THE TWO 14TH CENTURY SUFI SAINTS OF BIHAR WITH THE CONTEMPORARY SOVEREIGNS OF DELHI AND BENGAL.

By

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The Muslim hagiological literature comprising the Malfuzats or 'table talk's and Maktubats or collections of letters of Sufi saints, especially the latter, if carefully examined,may yield something of historical and cultural value: but they have not yet been adequately noticed or properly utilized. An attempt was made to bring out[1] the historical significance of the Maktubats of the saints of Kachaucha(U. P.), H. Ashraff Jahangir,[2] and of the Pandua (Bengal) saint, H.Nur Qutub Alam, with their bearings on the question of Raja Ganesh's usurpation in Bengal, but many others still await one's attention. No notice has been taken of the Maktubats of the 15th century Chisti sufi, H. Abdul Quddus Gangohi, who assumed the poetical pen name of Al

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Khuddas[3] in his numerous Hindi verses, and who besides the several letters that he addressed to the nobles of the Lodi period, wrote one to Sikander Lodi, another to Babar, and two to Humayun. The Gangohi saint, the grandfather of Sh. Abdul Nabi, the well known Sadr of Akbar's reign, and his works and views deserve a separate treatment. The present paper represents an attempt to draw the attention of scholars to the Maktubats of the two 14th century Sufi Saints of the Firdausi order of Bihar which, besides their correspondence with a large number of their devotees, including high officials and even and princes and Goveronors[4] contain the letters that they wrote, mostly in response to the requests made by them, to some contemporary sovereigns of Delhi and Bengal. Perhaps more important historically than the two letters that the renowned saint, H. Sharfuddin Ahmad Yahya Maneri (b. 661-D. 782 A.H.) wrote to Sultan Md. Tughlaq and to his successer, Firoz Shah, are the dozen letters[5] that his chief spiritual disciple and successor, the scholarly Maulana Muzaffar Shamsh Balkhi, addressed, some by way of reply, and others as a course of advice and instructions to the cultutred Sultan Ghayasuddin Azam Shah who had invited the celebrated Persian poet, Hafiz Shirazi (D. 793) to Bengal. They tell us something about the life and outlook of the saintly and scholarly writer and his royal addresses and also of the close cultural association of the two eastern provinces. They throw fresh light on the character of the son and grandson of Ilyas Shah, Sikandar and Ghayasuddin, and also of Firoz Shah Tughlaq and give some indications of the moods of the mystics and tension of the time. Though undated they may help us to understand better the chronological sequance of some events of historical and cultural importance.

Though indifferent towards wordly affairs and wordly men, the writings of the 14th century saints of Bihar show they were cognisant of the actual condition of the times. and they and their own views about rulers and statecraft, coloured of course by their religious idealogies. H. Shardfuddin Maneri was once asked about the requisite qualifications of a king. He cited the instance of Sultan Shamsuddin (Firoz) of Sonargaun who was told by his Prime Minister, Arsalān. that neither of his two chief sons, Hātim Khan, the ruler of Bihar,

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and Ghayāsuddin (Bahadur Shah) of Kamru (Assam), was likely to prove a worthy and successful ruler, the one because of his excessive mildness and liberality and lack of force and severity, and the other for the reason that he was much too self willed and overbrearing and was wanting in kindness and affability. The truth of this was illustrated, added the saint, by the events that happened after the death of Sultan Shamsuddin for both of his sons proved a misfit and failed to have any enduring rule and soon fell from power. The saint was fully conscious of the important role played by kings, despite their other shortcomings, in the social and religious schemes of the community.. "Though the king and the several Nawabs (Deputis or Agents) whom they appoint in the various cities will be called to account on the Day of judgement for their oppressive deeds and the innocent blood they may have shed, their good works and liberality may outweigh and counter balance their misdeeds, for they are instrumental in maintaining the peace of the world, and but for the fear of their swords the unbelievers and thieves might have indulged in their nefarious activities of plunder. In this very city where we are, if the Muqtis, Kotwals and the cavalry and infantry had not been at work on behalf of the king, the plunderers and high waymen who are so numerous would have become active and the peace of the people would have been disturbed specially of the thousands of people who are engaged in prayer and the reading of the holy book." There is an interesting reference in another Malfuz to the capricious and eccentric "Sultan Muhammad (Tughlaq) may his sins be pardoned by God"! which practically supports the views of Barni and Ibn-i-Batuta" When the night experiences were related in the day the Khans and Mallick sitting on their Mansad before the Sultan trembled from fear and awe, being uncertain in their minds as to what might happen or come next. It so happened that some of them were removed from their Masands, enchained and taken to a well or or a prison cell" The illustration cited imply that people who were in his opinion only apparently virtuous good and able were condemened.

This very Sultan hearing of the fame of the great Behari saint sent a Bulgarian prayer carpet for him and a Farman was sent to

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Zainuddin Majdul Mulk, the Muqti of Bihar, to build a Khanqah and to assign a Jagir from Rajgir for its upkeep. The Jagir was refused but the carpet was accepted and the saint was quite happy to deliver his sermons under a "Dochapree" which was erected by an admirer, Nizamuddin Maula Hisari from his "Māl-i-Muzkkā" or pure money. The Sultan wrote to the saint requesting him to pray for his well being and secondly to send him some separate and special mystic writings. Letter no 207,in Makatubat-i-Seh Sadi, on" entrusting one's affairs to God and casting aside one's (pride in)learning, sent in reply to "the dear brother. the friend of the Fakirs and the indigent ones, Muhummad Shah, may God set aright all his affairs in this world and the next and enable him to become included among the thanksgivers of God," says that the writer would pray for what was best for the addressee in the Divine Will for people do not undesrtand wherein lie good or evil for them. The saintly writer cites the example of Thalaba, the companion, who, when in a state of penury, pressed the prophet to pray for the betterment of his lot. "The pigeon of the mosque" as he was called gradually abondoned the congregational prayer and ultimately turned to be an apostate. Similarly, Pharoah claimed divinity when his wishes were fulfilled and he became prosperous. As regards the second point the addressee was told to content himself with the two volumes of the writers which were reported to have reached him and which contained what could be put in black and white. Nothing more could be written on such great and intricate matters. Even the greatest of the Sufies had not been able to express in words and letters all they felt or experienced about mysticism and sufiism.

Sultan Firoz Tughlaq,on the occasion of his expedition to Bengal, called upon H. Sharfuddin and his saintly first cousin, H. Ahmad Chirmposh, in Bihar town, and was highly impressed by,and showed his great devotion to, the foremer. But when on the representation of the Delhi Ulamas he punished Ahmad Behari and Shaikh Aaz Kākavi, disciples of the great saint of Bihar, for their ecstatic utterances, H. Sharfuddin could not conceal his annoyance and expressed his presentiment about its disaster consequences to a city where such things could happen. The saint did not accede to the

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royal request to write something especially for him, but he was quite conscious of the piety., religiosity and sense of justice of the Sultan and we find a letter no.95 in Maktubat-i-Sadi on 'justice and equity and the need of redressing the grievances of the oppressed ones" which he addressed to Firoz Shah, at the instance of "Khawaja Zafar abadi" who had suffered injustice and had been deprived of his property, apparently by some officers of the state. The saint first quotes wo instances in one of which the prophet helped a christian to get back what was due to him from a powerful Meccan leader. When approached by the Christian whose things were held up by Abu Juhal, the prophet went immediately, at an untimely hour, to the latter and pressed him to redress the grievances of the former. He would not return till all the goods including a better substitite of a haversack which had been lost were restored. The second instance given is that of Umar the second Caliph and Abdur Rahman bin Auf who voluntarily took up the duty of acting as watch and ward of a Caravan when all its members were in deep sleep in the outskirts of Madina. The letter ends with the following words; "Praise be to God ! today on your exalted and benevolent self depends the protection and refuge of the oppressed and the distressed onec. You have attained felicity by desplaying justice and equity for the Prophet has said "one hour of justice done is better than 60 years of prayer and devotion."

Feroz has been twice mentioned by the other 14th century saint of Bihar, H. Maulana Muzaffar Shams Balkhi. Referring to him in letter no. 163 he says "this Sultan Firoz, may God forgive him his sins, had established association with many holy men. When for some days his holiness Syed Jalaluddin, may his resting place be blessed, came to him he met him and derived many benefits from his association with the Syed and showed constancy and firmness in them. He had, however, developed a tendency that whatever he said in anger on matters of murders and retribution, before his orders could take effect, he admitted that they do not mean his command but something which he had hastily said by way of accusation in a fit of anger without due consideration. Then he enquired about the opinion and the Fatwas of the Qazis, and the Muftis had to cite pre-

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cedents after which he gave his award. He used to say Oh God ! it is not the orders of your slave Firoz, but thy command: the canon laws of thine says so "He learnt to say the 'Chāst' or the morning prayer and 'Tahuajjud' (night prayer) from the saintly saiyid after the letter's arrival. When the Sultan grew old he took his residence in his newly built mansion and had it proclaimed throughout the city of Delhi that who so ever might have any greivance or claims against Firoz, the slave of God, might come and put forward his charges and claims which he would satisfy.

Elsewhere in the same long letter, written at the end of 800 A.H. to Sultan Ghayasuddin whom the scholarly Balkhi saint of Bihar addressed as "My prosperous son" there is another referenee to Firoz Shah and to the confusion that prevailed in Delhi politics after his death due to the war of succession among his sons and grandson and complicated by a foreign invasion. There is an important information about Sikandar Shah, his devotion to, and correspondence, with, the great saint, H. Sharfuddin of Bihar. From chronological standpoint also the passage is important and like many other references it reveals the affection of the writer for the addressee. "God the Almighty and the Prophet are really possessed of the command. Address your mind to this. The land of which you are called the king has no reality. Preserve the boundaries of things. It would be a kind of audacity to think otherwise..The extent to which I, the poor man, bear affection for you and wish well for you, my son, has been affirmed. This good will and affection demands that truth should be disclosed, and not to utter the truth would be the dishonest concealment of the obligation of love and esteem....The eighth hundred year hae come to a close (Heesad Tamam Shud) 'The day of judgement is drawing near and will burst suddenly, in the twinkling of the eye,', says the Quran.. The kingdom of Delhi, so splendid, so vast and expansive in its extent, so full of peace and prosperity, happiness and tranquility, is now a a topsy turvydom and infidelity is reigning supreme. This is the state of thing, with some exception, of other places of which you are not unaware.Now is the time....I always found Shaikhul Islam Sharful Huq Waddin, may God sanctify his sepulchre to have favoured

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this land (Bengal) and it was the special favour of God on this land that He made Shaikh Sharfuddin who was the advanced guard of God to stay here (during his young age)" Although Firoz Shah and the people on his side made repeated requests to the Shaikh to write some thing for them which they might keep as a memento, he did not write or send anything separately to them. On the other hand, he very gladly, and with an agreeable heart, often wrote letters to, and was very much pleased and satisfied with, the martyrd Sultan (Sikandar Shah)· "You are enjoying the fruits of this blessings..Oh my son, you are a king and a young man. For sometime in the past you have been a prince of pleasure and happiness, but you now aspire after a purer and virtuous life. It is incumbent upon you-may you live long and be prosperous ! to believe in and rely upon the following verses of the Holy Quran, and regulate your life accordingly....Oh friend of mine ! what prayer should I offer for you.? Your Lord and Master himself summon you with all his promises for virtuous and prosperous life in this world and the next. God hath said that He giveth and giveth without limit....when such a belief takes root the 7 pits of the hell become transformed into the 8 mansions of heavans. If you say, "How can I attain his court and what path shall I pursue ? (I would say) Oh my friend, catch hold of the skirt of the canons of religion, resign yourself to, and seek refuge with, God, and the prayers which have to be offered and which I have written out in this letter should be performed. If a question is raised that in such times as this it is impossible for a king to pursue the path of 'Shar (govern in accordance with the laws of religion) the reply is that it is thought so by men of week intelligence (lit. subtile mind) God's, help has not been stopped and his mercy, power, and grace are abundant. A child feels happy in the mother's lap and a slave (of God) should-feel happier still at his door. Every pleasure which he enjoys in the asylum of this Lord and Master is tolerated and approved."

This long letter also contains some other things of sufficient important. The learned writer had once served as a professor in the Arabic College named Kushak-i-Lal, built by Firoz Shah at Delhi, before he came to Bihar to join his father, a disciple of H. Ahmad Chiram-

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posh, and became a disciple of the latter's first cousin, H. Ahmad Sharfuddin. He was extremenly puritanical in his outlook and used to distribute all that came into his hands among the poor and the needy and even divorced his wife and married her to another when his attachment to her appeared to stand in the way of his devotion to God. A great scholar himself he condemnd the wordlly ulama who disgraced their learning of the world by going to the court of the kings and those whose "knowledge was not in accord with their actions and transactions." Unlike other sufis, including his own 'Pir' and his well known nephew, pupil and 'Murid', Hussain Muiz Balkhi, the compiler of his Maktubat, who were all latitudinarian, broad minded and tolerent. he was uncompromising in his attitude, specially in matters of 'Sharah' or canon law, and he had his own views about Muslim Statecraft and the relations of the ruler with their non-muslim subjects, which though shared by a few like H. Abul Quddus Gangohi, could not be put into actual working by the Muslims rulers. A relevant passage is worth translating—"The Exalted God has said "ye who believe ! take not into your intimacy those outside your ranks." The long and short of the matter is that in commentaries and lexicons they have said that the faithful should not make the unbelievers and strangers their confidants and ministers. If they say that they do not make them their favourities and friends but for the sake of expediency, the reply is that God says that it is not expediency but the cause of trouble and sedition. He says "Lā Yālunakum Khabālan (they will not fail to corrupt you) i.e. "Lā Yaseruna fi Ifsād-i-Amerekum" they will not hasitate or spare themselves in creating troubles for you). Therefore it is incumbent on us that we should listen to the divine command and cast aside our week judgement. God says "Wadduna Ma Anittum" (they may only desire your ruin) i.e. when you make them intimate with your self they will love to involve you in evil deeds. An infidel may be entrusted with some work but he should not be made 'Wāli' (chief supervisor or Governor) so that he may have control over and impose his authority on the Muslims. God says "let not the believers take for friends or helpers unbelievers and neglect God: if any do that, in nothing will there be help from God except by way of precaution, that we may

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guard yourselves from them." There are severe warnings in the Qurān, the Hadis and historical works against those who have given authority to the unbelievers over the believers." God grants oppulence and provisions from unexpected sources and He gives deliverance from them" There is an authoritative promise of provisions, victory and prosperity. The vanquished unbelievers with heads hanging downward, exrcise their power and authority and adminsiter their lands which belong to them. But they have also been appointed (executive) officers over the Muslims in the lands of Islam, and impose their orders on them. Such things should not happen"

This passage from the long letter which covers as many as fifteen pages of the Ms and contains much about daily lessons and other devotional exercises suggested for the addressee, is sufficiently significant for it gives a clear indication of the Muslim rulers of Bengal recognizing the claims of political expediency and allowing the Hindus to be associated in the conduct of Government which according to the theologians was against the spirit of the canon law as interpreted by them. In view of what happened shortly after to the Ilyasshahi dynasty at the hands of the Hindu Minister, Raja Kans or Ganesh, the warning given by the saint of Bihar to Ghayāsuddin Azam Shah appears to be rather prophetic. Perhaps like Alauddin and Muhammad Tughlaq Ghayasuddin also., despite his religiosity orthodoxy, and great devotion to Maulana Muzaffar Shams Balkhi found it difficult for him to follow the policy of exclusion and discrimination and accept the dictation of the canonists.

In the other letters the saintly Maulana tried to impress upon his royal devotee the importance of Jehad by which, of course, he meant not only a War against non-believers but also against all evils and efforts and strivings for all virtuous deeds. In latter no. 179 he gives the meanings of 'Ghaza' (holy war) and Qatl (fighting) and in no 164 he prays for the victory of the addressee and says "may your enemies be vanquished, dispersed and disgraced ! He encourages him by cuoting verses from Surah-i-Hashr' and cites the case of the Prophet who was granted victory over the Jews by God. In another letter the writes that he had neither son nor family, did not seek any wordly thing, and had no love for position and wealth, and though

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he was present in the outskirts of the city he could do nothing except offering his prayer. "I, the poor man, have nothing for the service of the king, nor even two well equipped horses, so that I may fight for the king." In letter no. 148 he writes "know that the path of God (Sabililah) is the path of warriors of God. "For him whose feet is covered with dust in the path of God the reward of Heaven is assured." This fortune has been assigned since eternity to the rulers". Maulana Shamasuddin Yahya writes on the commentry on Mashariq that Abu Bakar, the Truthful, in his Caliphate deputed Khalid to lead an expedition against the unbelievers. He helped him to ride on his horse and proceeded on foot along with his stirrup. He served him on the way and advised and instructed him regarding the use of arms and strategy. Khalid said you are a Caliph but you are on foot while I am riding. He replied "Oh Khalid you have ridden with the intention of fighting the holy war and I am walking on foot along with your stirrups so that I may deserve the promise. "He whose feet is covered with dust has the reward of Heaven assured to him" He took off his shoos and walked some distance with Khālid. All prayers be to God who has granted such a felicity to the Shah (king) in these auspicious times. May He grant you from his grace and bounty (long) life and prosperity. In the technique of the canon law Pilgrim's journey is also Sabilillah. In the Lexicon every path which a slave of God pursues with virtuous intentions including charity and devotion, is the path of God. Four months of the sailing season have passed by and only 8 months are now left. During these four months I have been a guest in your auspicious place, may its glory be everlasting ! Now after these four months I have recovered my health. If there is illness God provides its cure. Praise be to God, the Lord of the two worlds."

Besides other things there are many references to the writer's long stay in the king's dominion with a view to sailing from the Chittagong port for the Arabian land. In letter no. 150 on "casting aside of carnal desires and seeking spiritual guide for the sake of God" he says:-"May God maintain peace and tranquillity and keep you, my dear friend, and all the seeker engaged in this throughout your lives'....Both these are great bliss, namely seeking the pleasure of God

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with submission and devotion and exertions for the betterment of the affair of God's creatures. I, the poor man, have been your guest since a month, and wish that you should not feel much inconvenienced." Verse, 'If you want to win my heart, do it today: otherwise much as you will search for me, you will not find me Three days back Maulana Najimuddin who had come to Chatgaon called on me, the poor man, and I feel much indebted to him for his many benedictions. The invocation of such worthy personages are fruitful of hopes." In an earlier letter the writer says 'The temple in which this poor man has been made to halt is outside the town. It is airy and a peaceful sequestered closet in which this poor man,being uninterfered with, through God's grace has comfort and peace of mind. I have got a house unclaimed by any body and also food which comes without waiting."[4]

In letter no. 152 on beliefs in the mercy of God and the advisability of seeking help from Him, we read, you are one of the slaves of God. Oh king, and you should offer thanks givings for your luck.. May the fortunate king be safe and immune from the troubles and tribulations of times, may he be within the impregnable fortress of God's protection, and may he attain victory and success over his enemies !....I bade adieu to your sublime presence at Gangura. Now the pilgrim season is approaching. A farman may kindly be issued to the officials (karkuns) of Chatgaon, directing them to accommodate in the first ship the band of Darwesh pilgrims for Mecca who have assembled around me, the poor man." In letter no. 153 on" the fulfilment of obligations and 'Hijrat' (departure from one's country and friends) towards God, he writes, "When He has brought me out of my native land, and as I recite the Quranic Verses 'one who abandoned one's abode and became an emigrant for the sake of God and His prophet etc,' it does not look proper to pause or stay on. ! Oh friend when I have already begun to move on the way, how can I change and keep my heart composed ?... ..I may go wherever I can to the east and the west, but staying does not seem to be justifiable or suited to my condition. It does not become me that I should remain pinned down to one place. How can I unravel the bindings ? Adieu : I go as a vagrant lover. The

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fortune of the king of the world lies in the desire to kiss the dust of his (Prophet's) threshold. By the order of God, the glorious and mighty. He has made me, the sinner, the leader of a band of sincere pious people 'Verily God gives assistance to a man of religion and piety through a sinful person.' Perhaps this is applicable to me. In short, many sincere men and women have gathered around me and I have placed my life entirely in their hands. I have told them that they should severe my head whenever and wherever they happen to see me disgracefully committing any sin and leave my body then and there.... To make any delay is not advisable. I saw the Prophet in the dream that he invited me thrice.... Therefore I am going there with my followers and dependents. It would be good of you if you could understand and please the hearts of of the mendicants instead of dispiriting them by causing a delay in their departure. The farmans of the fortunate king have been received and they should be acted upon."

Letter no. 165, 166, also refer to the same thing. In the former we get, "Ever since I, the helpless one, saw Mustafa in a dream saying in the enclosure of Kaaba 'Oh Maulana ! I am placing this cell at your disposal, come and make yourself comfortable in it,' that dream has clung to my heart like a hook. It has driven me from my own land, and has brought me here in this kingdom. I have already spent two years in your auspicious threshhold, but now I seek your permission to leave it so that through the kindness of the king I may proceed towards Chartgāon..My hair has grown gray, and my teeth have become lose at their base. It is my old age and I stand on the brink of my grave. I am longing for being buried there..The helpness one has neither an issue nor power and position, nor wealth and rank. And all these voluntary offerings which had been received from the king weres given away to the creatures of God. This only adds to the prosperity of the king and the future rewards of virtue for him. The very little that yet remains out of this voluntary charity would, according to the Divine saying 'for him who relies on God is sufficient' suffice for the way-charge of pilgrimage. This poor wretch has taken a vow that to whichever holy places he would go he would pray for an increase in the king's life and prosperity."

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In the following letter we read:—"I, the poor wretch, bid farewell to you, and God willing, intend to become devoutly fixed to the House of God so that I may die there....There is little chance of our meeting together except on the known date. The Quran says, 'tell them Oh prophet ! I will bring together all those who have gone before and who followed : I will assemble them at the appointed time. That time is sure to come and that day will be the day of much regret.' Alas ! every one will say, 'I did not with hold my self (from sin) and suffered harm by playing with my life. I had got opportunities to do (good) works but wasted them for nothing. The night was dark but I sold the jewel, for the worth of a shell.." To day all the 8 elysiums could be had for a piece of bread and for a small coin (fulus) but tomorrow, if per chance the seven worlds, filled with gold and silver, are given to a sinful man who is damned, and he wants to give away all that to get himself liberated from punishment, it will not be accepted. Whatever you have to do for reparation, do it today. One moment of justice is better than 60 years of prayer and devotion. You, the king, have been favoured with such an opportunity. God says, 'ye believers who fear God, examine yourselves and realise what steps you have taken for tomorrow.' Oh friend ! What is that tomorrow ! (Quranic verses follow)— This helpness one with his followers has to requite with spirit, imploration for and, and prayers for welfare, for the favours received from the king.

That the Bihar saint during his forced stay in Bengal was an honoured guest of the Sultan and was a recipient of farmans and some little presents to which he relied in appreciative terms and he eulogized the king's virtues including his prose and poetical writings, is apparent from the following extracts. Letter No. 154 opens with the following lines:— "The farman of your majesty, may your grandeur be not diminished ! addressed to me, the poor man, has been welcomed and perused. I put on the garment which was sent with the farman and offered two genuflexions in prayer and thanks givings for greater prosperity and success of the king, enjoying the fruits of life (Shahe-i-Barkhurdar), may the benediction of the poor indigent ones according to the words of God, "When a slave asks any thing of me, I concede that 'reach the mansion of responses." Again one gets in letter 163

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"These attention and hospitability and favour which the king had shown and the affection and eagerness which I, the poorman, have seen in every farman specially in the present one, which contains the one (Gazal) stating the pangs of separation in most eloquent terms lead me to say that had the desposition of affairs been in my hands I would not have taken leave of departure from king's threshhold. But God's will prevails over that of men. I am overwhelmed by my own distressed condition and feel forelorn. This is not metaphoric but a statement of facts. Every word of the ode was an arrow..may the king enjoy his kingdom" ! Elsewhere he writes, "By God the great ! in my opinion , of all the kings of the earth, you have been endowed with these blessings (for of God, virtuous deeds, ease and affluence etc.) most because of wnich you are very much loved and have become popular, Some people are proud of their kingdoms which have been given to them just as those given to the infidels, but they are devoid of such virtues as learning, generosity, liberality, a bold and couragous heart and lion-like bravery which you have been endowed with."

The letter no. 151 "on the wine of (divine) love and turning towards God" has also some thing which deserves notice:—"This insignificant mendicant, Muzaffar Shamsh, offers his peace and blessings. The auspicious farman has been received .. The present writer can not give a reply which may be proper and suited to its content for his hands and pen are in a bad condition and his heart, desperately in love, is distracted. The royal farman which is replete with various kinds of pearls and jewels of wisdom contained this quatrain also, "Oh you who are intoxicated with the wine of spiritual desire—you who are eternally inebriated with the divine love—Pour-out one daught in the cup of this mendicant. Oh, you the king of so many hearts." Although I was in my senses, this quatrain threw me into raptures. Oh friend ! this wine is not always available. When and to whom do they provide even a drop ? The wine Jar and the cup are nearer to those wayfarers (in the path of God) who put the efforts to "to die before death." This is the path of the distracted lovers, and that of the abstemious ascetics and devotees is different...This poor man was at the service of his Shaikh, may God sanctify his soul ! He saw master Rajab, the barber,

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handing over, a mirror in the morning to the Shaikh who saw the reflection of his auspicous face in it. After the death of the Shaikh, the mirror which was good and had become a cherished object of my heart was missing. My heart wished to have it. After years this was brought by a certain person to me. I regared it as boon and blessing and a great relic. I send it to the king. It is in return for the cloak (Bārāni) and the turban (Dastār) which I had put on, on Friday. May your affairs be set right!," !

The puritanical saint was very jealous in point of honour. He preferred giving some thing to receiving it. In his letters he mentions frequently the prayers worth offering and reciting and they contain special instructions for the royal addresses about daily lessons of the Quran and other devotional exercises. He refers to the large number of letters sent to one, Abdul Malik, "who might have collected them into a volume." (Mujallade). He suggests to the royal addressee that the discursive matters in the letters were only notes and hints ('Ima' and 'Ishara') which might be pieced together and arranged and kept as a memento.

One of the letters (152) conlcudes with the following words:— "The religious tasks and the prayers set by this poor man may, if God wills it, show their effects. The king should increasingly offer this important prayer, "O God enable me to set my heart and tongue right," "Set right the affairs of the faithful through me and give me victory over the infidels." If the slave of God continues to offer two genuflexions in prayers every night and recite this prayer, it is hoped that response will be near at hand. During this period of 40 days he should abstain from flagrant faults (sin) and seek God's mercy and may these admonitions of this poor man to the king serve as memorial." The longest letter (163) which contains many such prayers and religious instructions says:—"This long letter may cause some vexation. But as I am taking leave for good and as I had great affection for you, my son, I have gone to such length and have included so many religious lessons in this letter. Your refined taste, O' my son, will enable you to compile them for I could not arrange them properly owing to my anxieties about the ensuing journey.

This is one of the letter which records the date (end of 8th century

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A. H.) and was written on the eve of the writer's final pilgrimage to Mecca, (the first having been undertaken before the death of his 'Pir' in 782) and some years after the death of Firoz Shahand of the addresse's royal father, the latter who has been referred to as the 'Martyred Sultan' is supposed to have died in Zilhijja, 795—Oct., 1393. The Balkhi saint himself died at Aden in 803, and not in 788, the accepted date. Perhaps Most of the letters refrerred to above was written during the years 798-800, for in one of them the Saintly writer defrently refers to his stay in Bengal for 2 years.

1. See the writer's paper in Bengal Past and Present, Calcutta.

2. The Maktabāt of H. Ashraf Jahangir contains many letters addressed to various important personages, including nobles and others, but the long letter which he wrote, in reply to that of Alp Khan, entitled Hoshang Shah of Mandu or Malwā, (1405-34) containing 'some advice and instructions befitting the times and worth following by kings and ruling Khans' espacially attracts our attention.

3. As many as 82 miscellaneous pieces in the then Awadhi dialect are available in Murshid Nama, compiled by his own son, Sh. Ruknuddin, besides the various apt quotations of Hindi Dohas in Matubat-i-Quddusia. The first piece may be given here as a specimen "Dhan Kāran Āp Peeh Sanwārā-Bin Dhan Sakhi Kant Kinhārā-Shah Khaile Dhan Mātaheen Ewān-Bās Phool Mah Achayee Jiwān:- Keon Tahi Kheloon Tujh Seng Mitā-Mujh Kāran Tain Itā Kitā: Alkhuds Ākhar Sun Loyee-Seyee Bāk Arth Pahun Seyee." This is an interesting letter that, reply to this Prinee Dawar Malik, described as the son-in-law Sultan Mohammad (Tughlaq)

4. E. C. Malik Mufarrih of Cambay and Gujrat, Shamsuddin Damghani also of Gujrat, Malik Husamuddin of Awadh. This is also an interesting letter to Prince Dāwar Malik "son-in-law" of (Md. Tughalq)

5. These are 148-154, 163,165,166,167,179 out of 181 letters in a manuscript of O. P. I. Patna. Many of the letter are headed by the name of the Sultan and the subject matter treated therein are also mentioned. They ring freely over a veriety of topics and are cut up into different sections by the word Hadis but the essen-

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tial spirit of the writer's thoughts have been indicated in the heading. The letters are full of quotations from Qur'an and the Hadis which the writer gives in support of his statement. The mss. is old and damaged. On the fly leaf the name of the compiler, Hussain Balkhi with the date 798 is given but the mss was written by another scribe much later. The compilation may have been begun in 798 but one of the letters gives the year 800 and we know that the accepted date of the writer's death, 788, is definitely wrong and he actually died later, in 803, at Aden, where he lies buried.

VIDYĀRAṆYA : HIS IDENTIFICATION AS A VEDANTIC TEACHER VIS-Ā-VIS THE VIJAYANAGARA EMPIRE

By

Dr. Bratindra Kumar Sengupta.

It needs no new introduction that Vidyāraṇya, *alias* Mādhava or Mādhavācārya, was connected with the Vijayanagara Empire of South India at *Circa* the middle-close of the 14th Century A.D., in various vital ways conducing to the solidarity and preservation of that Hindu State. It is also equally well known to scholars of Indian philosophical history that he was one of the greatest exponents of the Śaṅkara School of Vedānta, besides being a great Mimāsaka and Smārta. We propose here to study the contributions that Mādhavācārya made towards the preservation of the undying spirit of Hindu religion and philosophy in and through his political role in the Vijayanagara Empire that he played so conspicuously at that frightful age of Muhammadan aggression, and to try to assess the historical evidences that go to make him one of the greatest philospher-statesman tbat India has ever produced. We apologise with the learned historians assembled at this Conference for the rather pronounced bias on the historical assessment of the works of a philosopher and social reformer with the consequential suppression of the more concrete historical events that this great Advaitist teacher saw and took an

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active, part in, at the pre-monastic stage of his eventful career, for the simple fact of personal study of the former to present them to this scholarly gathering.

Now we come to the question that has vexed scholars and has drawn out of their scholarly investigations many answers, often diverging and even contrary, if not contradictory. It is here that we propose to present our view point with the *apologia* stated above, and leave it to the members of this learned Conference to help us to assess the arguments more fully in the light of their scholarly suggestions.

This vexed question, as I have called it, may be classified under 5 heads as follow:—

(1) Who is this Mādhava ?

(2) Is he identical with the monastic teacher of Advaite Vedānta, named Vidyāraṇya ?

(3) What part did Mādhava (or, if identical, Vidyāraṇya) play in the consolidation of the Vijayanagara Empire ?

(4) How has his Patron-king Bukka (Bukkana) been referred to in his philosophical and religious works ?

(5) How can we ascertain correctly the names of his *Gurus* (preceptors) from a perusal of his works, so that the Advaitist stronghold in Vijayanagara can also be ascertained ?

Now, in the *P.M* (*Adhyāya* 4—*Prāyaścitta Kāṇḍam*) there are two introductory verses that have given a direct reference to the author's name, family and tradition. We quote the verses below:—

"Śrimatī jananī Yasya sùkīrtir Māyaṇah pitā,
Sāyaṇo Bhoganāthasca manobuddhhi sahodarau
Baudhāyanam yasya sūtram śākhā yasya ca yājushī,
Bhārdvājam yasya gotram sarvajñah sa hi Mādhavah."

Mādhava, after whose name this work on Smriti is known gives here the name of his father as Māyaṇa and that of his mother as Śrīmatī. His two brothers are Sāyaṇa and Bhoganātha. His family followed the Baudhāyana School of Dharmaśāstra and the (Kṛshṇa)Yajus Sect of the Vedas, and had the traditional appellation (*gotra*) of Bhāradvāja.

This single reference will settle once for all the question of Mādhava's identity, for we are on the safe side of the author's own record.

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In Sanskrit literature we have mostly to tread the dubious path regarding the time, if not the life, of an author. Very few historical certainties do exist as in the case of Bāṇabhaṭṭa, Bhavabhūti and Māgha. Thus Mādhava as an author of considerable contributions to Sanskrit literature is not quite in the dark. The fact is all the more happy on account of his association with a great Empire, which again is not without historical evidences. This Mādhava was a prolific writer touching equally well the branches of Smṛiti Mīmamsā and Vedānta. His family, as we get the account in the verses cited above, was a scholarly and devout one. At least his brother Sāyaṇa, who is mentioned in the verses of the *PM* stands out as the greatest commentator on the Vedas.

From this family-tradition of scholarly pursuits and devout practices of Vedic rites as we come across in the same strain of the self-introductory verses in Bāṇa's *Kādambarī*, some scholars have been inclined to believe that Sāyaṇa was a family name and Mādhava was also known after it as Sāyaṇa-Mādhava. Thus, for example..

Mr. S. Shrikantaya in the *VSCV* (pp. 164-165) says:—"The name Sāyaṇa was perhaps the family or surname of the house to which Mādhava belonged." The hypothesis is not altogether untenable. There is an introductory verse in the *SDS* which gives out Mādhava's name as the author of the work, not independently, but with an appellative metaphor wherein the name Sāyaṇa in all probability stands for the family. The verse runs thus:—

"Śrīmat-Sāyaṇa-dugdhābdhi Kaustubhena mahanjasā,
kriyate Mādhavāryeṇa Sarvadarśanasamgrahah"

Here—" Śrīmat—Sāyaṇa-dugdhābdhi-kaustubhena " qualifying 'Mādhavārayeṇa' means that the author known by the latter name was like the (rare object) celestial gem *Kaustubha* to the family of Sāyaṇa which was like the (churned) ocean of milk. Mr. S. Shrikantaya (*Ibid*) though giving out this hint of Sāyaṇa being a surname has failed to catch at the purport of this appellative metaphor in Sanskrit.

This Mādhava is generally regarded as identical with the great Advaita teacher, Vidyāraṇya, who in his later life exchanged the pearl-set robes of the Minister with the yellow clothes of an ascetic

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Mr. R. Rama Rao in his learned article in the *I H Q* (Vol. VI, pp. 701 ff.) has discussed the Vidyāraṇaya Mādhavācārya problem in its diverse bearings, such as authorship, patronage *etc.*, and has expressed doubts for their identification. But we may take it that these are very modest doubts of an honest historian. The Vidyāraṇya Mādhavācārya problem, however, is not so intriguing as the Sāyaṇa Mādhava problem. It has been shown above that Sāyaṇa was in all probability of family name. Now, the problem is that Sāyaṇa, the well-known commentator of the Vedas, was a younger brother of Mādhava(as referred to in the *PM* quoted above)and was equally a leading administrator, warrior and teacher under the Vijayanagara rulers, —Kampaṇa, Samgama II, Bukka, Harihara II at different times and places of their reign It is also equally true that Mādhava was the spiritual head of the Vijayanagara House, following in the footsteps of his illustrious teachers, *viz.*, Śaṅkarānanda, Vidyātīrtha and Bhāratītīrtha. The installation of Vidyāraṇya to the pontifical position at the Śṛṅgeri Mutt, then a stronghold of the spiritual philosophy of Advaita of India and of the adminsitrative injunctions of the rulers of Vijayanagara, marked the culmination of a long tradition of that Empire. Mādhava's administrative abilities merged into Vidyāraṇaya's spiritual powers at that dark age of Indian History. He was the living flame of a renascent culture that thrived so magnificiently under the hallowed role of Vijayanagara. Sāyaṇa, his younger brother, was equally all praise for this gem of a man, and acknowledges his indebtedness to him at least at the begnning of the *TTBB*.

He says :—"Yatkaṭākṣheṇa tadrūpam dadhad Bukka-mahīpatih, ādiśan Mādhavācāryam Vedārthasya prakāśane and aprāhaṇṛpatim rājan : Sāyaṇāryo mamānujah, sarvam vetyesha, Vedānām vyākhyātṛtve niyujytām. ityukto Mādhavāryeṇa Utra-Bukkamahīpatih, anvaśāt Sāyaṇācāryam Vedārthasaya prakāśane.

(*Ibid*, Introductory verses 3-5).

This is a very lucid acknowledgment by Sāyaṇa in the matter of his indebtedness to his more illustrious elder brother, Mādhava. Sāyaṇa was, no doubt, the writer of the Vedic Commentaries and Mādhava entrusted him to King Bukka for that purpose. Many

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have, misunderstood Sāyaṇa and have attributed wrongly the authorship of the Vedic Commentaries to Mādhava. Thus says. Mr. S. Shrikantaya (loc. *cit*): "His encyclopaedic knowledge enabled him to comprehend the Vedas in their true light and his mastery over the subtleties of account, his acquaintance with the nature,origin and significance of the archaic forms in which the Vedas greatly abound, his deep learning in the Vedāṅgas..... .....are unequalled." at another place (*Op. Cit.*) again, "It is to his commentaries that the modern world owes its knowledge of the traditional meaning of the oldest of the sacred books, the Ṛg-veda." This is evidently a misunderstanding in the face of Sāyaṇa's own admission as quoted above actually misunderstood is another assumption that our Mādhavācārya was different from Mādhava Mantrin or Amātya Mādhava, a powerful minister of Bukka I, at the same time being a great Upanisadic teacher (*Upanisatmārgapravartakāchārya*) as found in the *Ind. Ant.* (1916), 4-6 and as supported by Mr. Baladeva Upadhaya in his Introduction to the *ŸBBSS.* These two qualifications are the striking features of our Mādhavācārya as brought out above. Should we bifurcate the same person for an ungrounded historical fancy ?

Curiously, however, Sāyaṇa has referred to Vidyātīrtha in an introductory verse in the *TTBB.* He says:— "Yasya nihśvasitam vedā yo Vedabhyo rhilam jagat, nirmame tamaham vande Vidyātirthamaheśvaram" (verse 2) (This verse is found in his introductions to other Vedabhāshyas). Now, as we have indicated above, Vidyāraṇya has admitted in his works three *Gurus* (preceptors), *Viz.*, Śaṅkarānanda, Vidyātīrtha and Bhāratītīrtha. Śaṅkarānanda's name is to be found in two introductory stanzas respectively in the well—known versified Vedantic work and the celebrated dialectic work on Vedānta by the great Advaita teacher about whom we are discussing (vide, *PD*, introductory verse 1, and *VPS*, introductory verse 1). Rāmakrishṇa, the commentator on the *PD*, however, has tried to show that this name is to be metaphysically construed, but that is too far-fetched. Vidyātirtha's name is referred to in the introductory verse 2 of the *KMK*. Here also Vaidyanātha Bhaṭṭa's commentary twists this expression of a proper name into a meta-

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physical concept Bhāratītīrtha's name is referred to in the introductory verse 7 of the *JNMV*. In an introductory stanza in the *VNM*, Bhāratītīrtha also refers to Vidyātīrtha as an incarnation of thr Lord. This work is known to have been conjointly written by Bhāratītīrtha and Vidyāraṇya like the *PD*. It is, therefore, not illogical to infer that Vidyātīrtha occupied the greatest pontifical position in the Vijayanagara Empire and its religious fortress, the Śriṅgrī Mutt. This Vidyātīrtha has been spoken of as Vidyāśaṅkara as by Mr. S. Shrikantaya (*loc. cit*). Is it a confusion of the separate names, Vidyātīrtha and Śaṅkārānanda, mentioned as *Gurus* by Mādhavācārya (and in his monastic name of Vidyāraṇya) in his works ? Now, another name of the Author's Guru is found in an introductory verse in the *SDS*, which gives out the name of its author as Sāyaṇamādhava. This preceptor is said here to be known by the name of Sarvajñavishṇu, son of Śāraṅgapāṇi. Mr. S. Shrikantaya (*loc cit*) identifies him with his dubious Vidyāśaṅkara. This is difficult to ascertain unless we take Vidyāśaṅakara as one or the other of Vidyātīrtha and Śaṅkarānanda. About Sāyaṇamādhava, again, some scholars have tried to show that he is not our Mādhavācāraya but is to be identified with a son (*not father*) or Sāyaṇa, named Māyaṇa as proposed by Mr. R. Narsinhachari in the *Ind. Ant.* (1916), and supported by Mr. Baladeva Upadhaya (*loc. cit*).

In the *KM*, No. 44, there is mention of a copper-plate grant of 1313 Śaka year of the Kuccara, a village to the Brahmins byMādhavācārya who had named the village as Mādhavapuram. This was an event of 1391 A.D., and a historical evidence of the time of Mādhavācārya or Vidyāraṇya. He pays eloquent tributes to his patron-King in one of the finest stanzas found in the introduction to his *KMK* (verse3). Here the King is named as Bukkaṇa (Bukka).

This Vidyāraṇya, named in his pre-monastic life as Mādhava, was a great source of secular and spiritual strength to the Vijayanagara rulers, specially Bukka. I. His younger borther Sāyaṇa was an equal source of strength in matter secular and religious to at least four kings of the Empire at different times and places. But he also admits the superiority of his elder brother Mādhava in all respects and the traditional spiritual adviser of the Empire in the line of Vidyā-

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tīrtha, Śaṅkarānanda and Bhāratītīrtha. He was ordained the pontifical head of the Śringeri Mutt, perhaps 'twenty second Guru at Sringeri installed there in 1331" (the śṛingeri list of Mr. Seshagiri Sastry quoted by Mr. S. Shrikantaya—*loc. cit*). These are historical facts attested to by literary and other such, as inscriptional. evidences. We have tried to marshall them together in a logical manner. We cannot better conclude than by remembering the unique position of Vidyāraṇya in the secular as well as the religious history of India in the lines of Dr. P.V. Kane, who says about him thus. "As an erudite scholar, as a far-sighted statesman, as the bulwork of the Vijayanagara kingdom in the first days of its foundation, as a Sannyasi in given to peaceful contemplation and renunciation in old age, he led such a varied and useful life that even to this day his a name conjure with." (*HDS*, p. 374).

Abbereviations

(1) PM —PARĀŚARAMĀDHAVĪYAM
(2) VSCV —VIJAYANAGARA SEXCENTENARY COMMEMORATION VOLUME
(3) SDS —SARVADARŚAN-ASAMGRAHA
(4) IHQ —INDIAN HISTORICAL QUARTERLY
(5) TTBB —TAITTIRĪYABHĀSHY AḄHŪMIKĀ
(6) IND. ANT. —INDIAN ANTIQUARY
(7) VBBS —TEDABHĀSHYABHŪMIKĀSĀMGRAHA (CHOWKHAMBA EDN)
(8) PD —PAÑCADAŚĪ
(9) VPS —VIVARAṆAPRAMEYASAMGRAHA
(10) KMK —KĀLAMĀDHAVAKĀRIKĀ (ANANDASRAM EDN)
(11) JNMV —JAIMINĪYANYĀYAMĀLĀVISTARA
(12) VNM —VAIYĀSIKAṆYĀYAMĀLĀ
(13) KM —KĀVYAMĀLĀ
(14) HDS —HISTORY OF DHARMAŚĀTRA

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A STUDY OF THE ACCESSION OF SULTAN AHMAD SHAH OF GUJRAT AND THE EVENTS PRECEDING TO IT

By

Dr. Satish Chandra Misra.

The accession of Sultan Ahmad Shah of Gujrat was preceded by a curious set of events which are interesting not only in themselves but also in the way in which they have been treated by the chroniclers.

When in AH 793/1391 A. D. Zafar Khan left Delhi at the behest of Sultan Muhammad Shah Tughluq to chastise the rebel governor of Gujrat and bring back the province within the fold, he had left his son Tatar Khan in the capital, partly as a hostage and partly as an envoy and a representative. During the time, Zafar Khan built up a nucleus of power in Gujrat, Tatar Khan remained busy taking an active part in the intrigues enmeshing the court of the later Tughluqs.[1] This career as a king-maker was however abruptly terminated just before the invasion of Timur when Mallu Iqbal Khan,his powerful adversary seized Panipat and compeled him to fly to the shelter of his father in Gujrat.[2]

By the end of AH 800 or the beginning of HA 801/ September-October 1398, Tatar Khan reached Gujrat,[3] and began to importunate his father to lend him sufficient aid to fulfil his northern ambitions. Zafar Khan was cautious; but before the expedition could be seriously considered, news of Taimur's advent arrived. For the time being, the expedition to Delhi became out of question and Tatar Khan remained with his father nursing his ambitions and accompanying him on his campaigns to Idar and Somnath.[4]

The desolation wrought by Taimur in Delhi and the vaccum created by his return rekindled the ambition which had been dormant in Tatar Khan's mind and he renewed his importunities with redoubled vigour. Zafar Khan's resistence appeared to add to his impetuousity—and at this moment begins the divergence between the accounts of the chroniclers according to which two distinct versions of the events which followed, have come down to us.

The first version is: finding his son insistent on marching to Delhi,

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Zafar Khan furnished him with troops and equipment; moreover, he abdicated in his favour and crowned him as Nasir-u-ddin Muhamad Shah. This took place in Shawwal 806/ April-May 1404.[5] Muhammad Shah appointed Shams Khan Dandani as his Wakil-i-Mumalik and marched to chastise the rebelious Raja of Nandot, a task which he successfully accomlished. On his way back, he became ill—and though treated by the best physicians, succumbed to his illness. This illness, later chroniclers aver, was brought about by his over-indulgence in drinking, though the Tarikh-i-Mahmud Shahi does not mention this[6].

To this accepted version, Sikndar and Firishtah followed later by Ali Muhammad Khan add a different one. They mention it no doubt, adding however, that among the informed and discriminating people of Gujrat a different account is current. According to this rendering, Tatar Khan being disappointed by his father's indifference towards his ambitions and being advised by ill-intentioned friends, imprisoned Zafar Khan by a sudden *coup de'etat* and proclaimed himself Sultan at Asawal. Accomplishing this, he marched towards Nandot on a *jehad*, as mentioned earlier, appointing his uncle as his Wakil-i-Mumalik. During this campaign, Zafar Khan made overtures to his younger brother Shams Khan Dandani, the Wakil appealing him to secure his release from the ignoble situation. The obvious way to this end was to encompass the death of the new Sultan.

Shamas Khan at first demurred to undertake this delicate task, pleading that the great love borne by Zafar Khan to his son would never allow him, later, to forgive the assassin of a son so well-beloved. Zafar Khan however reassured him by asseerting that the unfilial conduct of his son had cut all ties between them, and Shams Khan need have no scruples on that account. Thus adjoured by his elder brother—and cruelly wronged overlord—Shams Khan administered poison to his nephew in a cup of wine, thus bringing about his death.[7]

Both versions are unanimous is saying that Zafar Khan mourned his son as David had mourned for Abasalon; and that his preference for his grandson Ahmad Khan was due the love he had borne for his eldest son.

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Linked to this dual account, is the way in which Ahmad Shahis said to have secured the throne .In this case, there are *three* different versions.

Tarikh-i-Mahmud Shahi followed by Firishtah states that Muzaffar Shah died in AH 814/1410-11 and was succeeded by his grandson Ahmad Shah[8]. Nizam-ud-din supported by Nahawandi and the author of Tarikh-i-Alfi writes that in the middle of 813/ October-November 1410, Muzaffar Shah became so ill that he realised that it was the "sickness of death." Realising this, he elevated his grandson to the throne. with the title of Nasir-u'd-din Ahmad Shah and made his noble do obeisance to him. The *khutbah* was read and the coins were struck henceforward in the name of Ahmad Shah. Muzaffar Shah lingered after this for five months and thirteen days, passing away in safar 814/May-June 1411.[9] Thus the elevation of Ahmad Shah should have taken place in Ramzan 813/ December 1410-January 1411. Firishtah's dates are slightly different; according to him Muzaffar Shah sickened in Safar 814/May-June 1411 and breathed his last in Rabi II, 8, 814/July 31, 1411.[10]

At variance with all these accounts is the one given by Sikandar; as he himself writes: "The author of the Tarikh-i-Bahadur Shahi has not given the reason for the death of Sultan Muzaffar Shah,but it is as follows."[11] Ahmad Khan, his grandson was commissioned to restore order in Asawal where the *kolis* had created disorder. He took the force which was in attendance at the capital but instead of going to Asawal, he halted in the outskirts of Patan, on the bank of the Khan Sarowar tank. There he called an assembly of the divines and posed to them a question: if a person kills the father of another wrongfully, is it legitimate for the latter (the son of the murderedman) to seek vengeance for the same? The ulema returned the obviously affirmative answer, which Ahmad Shah secured in writing.Immediately he reentered the capital, arrested the Sultan—and compelled him to drink a cup of poison.[12]

This account of Sikandar finds an echo in the 18th century histry, Mirat-i-Ahmadi and in the twenty-two page fragment, Tarikh-i-Salatin-i-Gujarat.[13]

Several queries arise during the investigation of these episodes.

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The very first is: of these two conflicting versions which is the correct one ?

Let us examine the first half of the story, i.e. Tatar Khan and his death. Here both Sikandar and Firishtah supply the contradictory version against the "official" story though significantly enough—without omitting it. Sikandar states positively that the author of Tarkikh-i-Mahamud Shahi has wasted much eloquence on this affair—which is borne out by a perusal of the part to which Sikandar refers—still facts will be facts. He feels himself on sure grounds, therefore, in rejecting the false version contained in official histories and credits his informants with greater veracity because they were informed and independent people.

How Firishtah secured his information is not certain; he does not list by name any of the histories consulted by Sikandar, including Sikandar's own.[15] His account besides, shows an independence which is different from Sikandar's proving there by that he is not dependent on Sikandar for his facts. Rather the facts would tend to warrant that both these authors used a common source—but if so, what source? By Sikandar's own testimony, almos tno literature contained the story he had heard from trust-worthy men—but then either he had overlooked some literature or the oral tradition was unusually strong and survived till the days of Firishtah.

Nizamu-u'd-din, however writes that in some histories it is written that Shams Khan poisoned his nephew at the instance of his brother,[16] though he does not state the details. Evidently therfore there must have been written evidence for this story before Sikandar, though "official" histories like the Mahmud Shahi, understandably, keep silent about the affair.

The story as given by Sikandar and Firishtah may therefore be accepted as correct. The version of official historians moreover, does not appear to be the whole truth; the abdication part itself appears rather unlikely. It would have been highly improbable for Muzaffar Shah to resign all authority, besides to deck his son in the insignias of State at a time when he was setting out on a distant and dangerous expedition. Tatar Khan himself would not have asked for it—what he wanted were men and money to pursue his northern

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ambitions—not empty titles which had little consequence outside Gujrat.

Sikandar and Firishtah explain the two points on which the official story fails—namely, the sudden transition of power to Tatar Khan and his sudden death. That the first was normal and the next natural would have been too much for even the medieval man, normally credulous, to believe.

The curious part of the second half of the story, i.e. Ahmad Shah's accession , is that Firishtah, so voluble in the first, is silent. Did his sources fail him in this incident ? Did he consider it insufficiently vouched for ? Is this omission therefore deliberate or due to ignorance ? No answer can completely answer the question.

Nizam-u'din's story of the second abdicatioon appears rather thin. No Sultan could abdicate twice in a life-time and live not to regret it. If this story was given in the sources consulted by Nizamuddin, then it would appear that the "official" story of succession, was coming under fire—and therefore needed to be buttressed by some elaborate substantiation. This in itself creates a doubt whether the facts of accession were as innocent as the author of Tarikh-i-Mahmud Shahi makes them out to be.[17]

Besides their intrinsic importance in political history, these events are significant from several other points of view.

The fact is established firstly, that Tarikh-i-Mahmud Shahi is Tarikh-i-Mahmud Shahi. Comparison of the relevant portions in which Sikandar, by his own testimony, quotes from the Mahmud Shahi, with the manuscript we know as Mahmud Shahi, reveals a closeness and similarity of language which could have occured only if the later author had copied verbatim from, or condensed the account of, the earlier author. By implication therefore, the British Museum unnamed manuscript is the same as is written on its fly-leaf, namely the Mahmud Shahi.

These incidents also throw a revealing light on the innate make-up of the several historians who have dealt with them, laying clear their acumen as historians and the attitude they had towards their data. The author of Mahmud Shahi, for example, Fazli according to Sikandar, is a court historian *par excellence*. Not only his choice of

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words but also his choice of events and the fulsome amount of varnish he uses proclaim his success in the field he had set himself. Tatar Khan for him had not been expelled from Panipat—he had come to Gujrat to have the pleasure of meeting his father. He does not think it fit to mention—notwithstanding the other story—that Tatar Khan's illness was due to over-drinking, so particular is he of his patron's escrutcheon. Sikandar is not wrong when he writes that this author had 'wasted" a great deal of eloquence. Ornate eloquence, florid and fulsome is his main stock-in-trade.

Nizamuddin by contrast is at once staid and meticulous, precise and accurate—and consequently unimaginative He gives the truth but his caution is so extreme that one wonders whether it is the whole truth. Omitted for him all linguistic fineries, all explanations and sidelights,all extras which would serve to make his Tabaqvat anything more than are liable accurate and dull catalogue of events.

Firishtah, when he chooses can be an ideal raconteur, savering his facts and treating them with the dramatists flair for effect. His version, here for example, has the truth but the impression remains whether it is nothing but the truth or not something with additional items supplied by the creative brain of Firishtah himself.

Sikandara, is by his own words, an author who had taken upon himself the search for truth and *inter alia* the correction of errors committed by earlier authors.[18] This was one of those occasions when he felt his strictures on earlier historians eminently justified. It is with a certain degree of complacence, therefore that he displays his superior knowledge before his readers; and though these readers, including modern ones, may not accept his assertion that his only purpose in writing his history was to lay bare the truth, yet it cannot be gain-said that in this specific incident he has made a definite efforts towards that ideal.

Another revealing light shed by these episodes is on the political presuppositions and behaviour of the Muslim ruling class of this age. The necessity felt for—and the summoning of the assembly of the ulema, places this cultural necessity in an revealing focus.

The necessity felt by Ahmad Khan for removing his gradfather can be understood though sacrecely condoned. He was none too sure of his grandfather's favour being continued for, this time, his uncles,

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the other son's of Muzaffar Shah were striving to establish themselves in their father's regard.[19] He therefore felt that he had to act quickly if his nomination was not to be superseded—and establish it on something more substantial than an old man's vagrant favour.

Behind the *coup*, therefore, was this apprehension and not any desire to avenge his father. Yet young though Ahmad Khan was at this time, he could not have deluded himself to believe that the questionable verdict extorted from the ulema by a trick, would be a sufficient warrant legalizing the dastardly act he was about to commit. If so, what was the purpose of the assembly. Why was the decision of the ulema required, however flimsy its legality may be, before Ahmad Khan would proceed against his grandfather and titular Sultan ?

Whether the ulema were really naive enough not to understand the implications of Ahmad Khan's hypothetical proposition—or they were ignorant enough not to dot the I's, can be strongly questioned. Did they, therefore, give their verdict without knowing the use to which it would be put ? The august assembly was no part of a nineteen year old boy's fancy—it was a part of a deeply-laid conspiracy, of which the young heir-apparent was only a tool.

The fact of conspiracy however, does not explain the summoning of the ulema. Even though, it was a farce, it appears to have had utility. It was a powerful salve to quieten the Muslim public's sense of legality, likely to be outraged by this brutally shocking stroke; in particular, it was likely to keep the army pacified and prevent it from acting in the old Sultan's interest. Besides, it implicated the ulema, at least a prominent section of theirs in the guilty act and thus made them have a stake in the fortunes of Ahmad Shah.

The calm resignation with which the old and harried Muzaffar Shah surrendered his life to his young grandson, evinces not only sympathy but also commisseration. At the end of long and troubled life, the founder of the dynasty of the Sultans of Gujrat, did not certainly deserve a cup of poison. It was his voluntary surrender which eased Ahmad Shah's way for had the old man compelled him to use more drastic means, it would have gone hard for him to carry the capital with him.

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1. Most histories concur: for details refer MS 14-15; TMS 67-8;

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Tarikh-i-Mubarak Shahi Eng. Translation, (Gaekward Oriental series, Baroda 1932) 171. Also see CHI III. 195 For *abbre-viations*, please refer to Bibilography.

2. TMS 67; MS 14;
3. TA III. 88; Tar. Mubarak Shahi 171.
4. Between his arrival in Gujrat and his accession to the throne i. e. between 800/1398 and 806/1403.
5. TMS 69-70; for this story also refer TA III 91-2. MR II. 133; Bailey p. 81-3.
6. TA III. 91-2; TMS 70-72.
7. MS 15-7; GA IV. 181-2.
8. TMS 90-91.
9. TA III. 94-5.
10. GI IV. 182.
11. MS. 20.
12. MS 20-21.
13. Tarikh-i-Salatin-i-Gujrat fol. 2a MA I. 44-5.
14. MS 17
15. GII. IV.
16. TA. II. 92.
17. TMS 90-1.
18. MS 3.

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a General History written in Gujrat 15th century; contains year wise account but rarely gives years: is understandably favourable to Gujrat Sultans as author appears to have been a courtier of Sultan Mahmud Bugarrha: concludes after his regnal account. Is the earlies known authority for the Sultans of Gujrat.

Mirat-i-Sikandri (abb. MS)
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RELIGIOUS ORIGIN OF 'BHAVĀĪ : THE INDIGENOUS GUJARĀTĪ DRAMA

By

Dr. M. R. Majumdar,.

Summary

'Bhavāī, as it is properly called, is originally associated with the dramatic performances of the glorious deeds of the goddess Bhavānī or Ambā. These are even today, acted for the whole night of vigil during the Navarātrī festival before the sacred image, even by some of the highest of the Brahmins of Gujarat.

They have close resemblance with the Sanskrit *rūpaka 'Bhāṇa.*. Owing to the gradual decay of religious inspiration, however, these perforemances have, through the march of time, led to the growth of a secular element, based on realistic farce and contemporary satire, uttlery debased by vulgarity bordering on obscenity.

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The growth of such entertainments appears to be dearly in accordance with the text of the Devī-Mahātmya or *Sapta Śatī* where it is said that the Gandharvas performed '*Lalita*' shows to celebrate the victory of goddess Mātā Kāli over the demon Śumbha.

The earliest person connected with 'Bhavāī'—shows in Gujarat is one Āsāyita Paṇḍit, who hailed from North Gujarat in the 14th century. He is credited to have composed 365 shows, one each for everyday of the year, for the worship of Devī Ambikā. The *bhojakas* or the *Targālās*, whose caste supplied all the actors for the modern stage are said to have descended from this Āsāyita.

In the Marāṭhā country, on such occasions the 'Gondhala' dance is performed in honour of Ambā Bhavānī in connection with which songs are sung in praise of the Goddess, admitting, of some comparison with the Gujaratī 'garbas.'

The following titles of popular religious scenes (*Veśas*, reminiscent of the '*Pra-veśas*' of the Sanskrit drama) acted during Bhavāī are restored from oral tradition:—

(1) Ardha-nārīśavra, (2) Kālikā.' (3) Vāmana-svarūpa, (4) Caturbhuja, (5) Rāma Lakśhmaṇa, (6) Kahāna-gopī, and (7) Gorakha-maḍhī. This gives a clue to the once-religious nature of the indigenous dramatic scenes in Gujarat.

FESTIVALS IN MEDIEVAL ANDHRADESA.

By

Mr. R. Narasinha Rao

Epigraphic records and literary works fromAndhradesa, belonging to the Medieval period, allude frequently to a large number of festivals and festive occasions which were celebrated all round the year throughout the country. Indeed, not a single month passed off without a festival big or small. They were not only occasions when man reminded himself of the great debt he owed to and his great dependence upon his Creator, but also occasions for gaiety, fun, frolic, mirth and merriment, the whole festive period being spent in dancing

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and signing, sports and dramas. Some of the major festivals afforded an opportunity for poets and scholars, dancers and musicians, jugglers and jesters to exhibit their skills and receive patronage.

As at present the Śivarātri[1] and the Dīpāvalī[2] were among the major festivals of the period under review. Coming in the month of Māgha, the Śivarātri was and is a popular festival of importance. It is a day scared to Śiva. On this day, generally, people from far and near used to go in large numbers on pilgrimages to the celebrated Śaivaite centres like Śriśailam. Palkuriki Somanātha[3] gives a very graphic and picturesque description of the pilgrim caravan wending its way across hills and jungles to Śrisśailam, of how they made their way slowly signing and jesting up the steps rising steeply from the plain to the top of the hill where the scared shrine of Malikārjuna was situated, of the way in which they spent the day and night fasting and sporting. It was also an occasion for feeding brāhmaṇas and poor people on a large scale,[4] as also for making dānas of various kinds to temples, brāhmaṇas and public charities.[5]

Dīpāvalī, the festival of lights, was another popular festival of universal imporatnce. Coming in the month of Kārtika, it was celebrated against a background of blazes of light by the young and the old, men and women alike.

The Vasantotsava or the Spring Carnival was one of the major festivals of this period. Celebrated at the approach of the Vernal Equinox, this was a festival devoted to Madana, the god of love, and his friend and associate, Vasanta, the presiding diety of Spring. This festival also known as Madanotasva or Suvasantaka, had a fourfold significance. According to Hemādri[6] the festival had a religious significance. Śiva soon after his marriage with Pārvatī assumed the Pāśupatavrata and went into Samādhi or deep meditation. Anxious to enjoy the pleasures and privileges of motherhood, Pārvatī was annoyed at the prolonged self absorbtion of her lord and solicited Indra's help, whereupon that god of gods, commissioned his specialists, Manmatha and his consort Rati, to obstruct the penance of Śiva and make him Pārvatī-minded. Then this trio came to the the spot where Śiva sat in samādhi and played all their viles on him, Slightly perturbed Śiva opened his eyes and found, to his surprise,

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Manmatha with his familiar bow made of sugar-cane stalk fitted with five flowery arrows taking a good aim. The Lord was roused and opened the third eye on his forehead. A fierce and deadly fire emanated from it and in a trice reduced Madana into a heap of ashes. All the participants in the plot to obstruct Śiva's penance, Pārvatī, Indra, Rati and Vasanta, were schocked by this sudden and tragic end of their enterprise and Rati, Madana's wife was plunged into heart-rending grief. Moved by this and conrscious of her ultimate responsibility for the trajedy Pārvatī approached Śiva and explained the entire circumstances to him and submitted that Madana was her agent and did not, as such, deserve such a drastic punishment. Indra and all the Devas added their own appeal. Śiva was ultimately moved and revived Madana but ordained that on one day in the year (the thirteenth day of the bright half of the month of Caitra) he would assume the bodily form and that for the rest of the year he would be Ananga or bodiless. Thus the Vasantotsava or Madanotsava was a celebration in honour of the resurrection of Madana. This popular Spring festival had also a natural significance. From the point of view of nature and external environment Vasatna or the spring is easily the best and the most pleasant season of the year. The new sprouts and flowers of varied colours found on trees and plants present a unique spectacle of emergent life and captivating harmony. All animate beings, pitiably confined to heavy coverings and dark corners during the winter and rainy seasons break their shackels and run out into the open welcoming the bright Sun and cool shades, and feasting their eyes on the colour symphony of nature. This outburst of freedom induces a psychological predisposition of fun, frolic, and merry-making and an easy readines for the enjoyment of the pleasures of the flesh. In the third place this festival has some importance astrologically. The science of astrology ascribes great importance to the Vasanta or the spring, when the Sun, the lord of all planets and greatest giver of health, wealth and prosperity would be in the Zodaical sign of Aries (Mesha), his most exalted place, during the two months of Vasanta, and would, therefore, be most favourable for human welfare. Lastly the Vasantotsava is a festival celebrated in the country from a very long time, and therefore,

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of historical significance. References to the Vasantotsava in the Bhavishyapurāṇa, the Kāmasūtra of Vātsyāyana, the Dharmasindhu and the Nirnayasindhu, the Śakuntalā and the Mālavikāgnimitra and the Ratānavalī, testify to the hoary antiquity and great popularity of this festival.

Beginning from Vasantapancami, the Vasantotsava celebrations lasted for nine days called vasantanavarātras, the nine nights of the spring season.[3]

Contemporary Telugu works like the Bhimesvarapuranamu, Kasikhandamu Simhasanadvatrimsika and the Parijatapaharanamu furnish detailed accounts of the celebrations of this festival On the approach of the celebrations, officers of the state gather together the equipment and accessories necessary, and make all the preparations for the celebrations. A magnificient pavilion, elaborately decorated with golden arches and anwing, and alters with plantain trees and precious stones, would be erected and its floor plastered with musk. The floor of the vedī would be sprinkled over with camphor-kolam. The Maṇḍapa would be decorated with pūrṇa-kalaśas. On the festival day, the king, seated on horse back and accompained by ministers, soldiers, poets, scholars, dancers, jests, courtesans and a vast concourse of gay and joyous populace, all wearing rich apparel and glittering jewels, would march out of the city in a grand procession. Arriving at an adjoining park, where preparations for the celebrations had been completed, the king would take a stroll in the cool-shade of the sweet mango trees. He would then spend some time with his court poets and jesters. Then he resorts to a specially arranged resting place where he is introduced by his ministers to the chiefs and nobles assembled. Here also the Maṇḍalikas, Sāmantas and others present to the king rich and varied tributes consisting of gold, precious stones, jewels etc. Now the king would be joined by his queens and courtesans, who, all the while had been enjoying themselves, with song and sport, roaming about the garden groves. Then the king enters the pavilion accompained by a retinue of women with lovely damsels singing and dancing to the accompaniment of music from a hundred different instruments. He worships, Madana, the god of Love his, consort, Rati, and their friend Vasanta, Upendra

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and his consort Lakshmī, Śivā and his wife Pārvatī, Sacī and her husband Surendra. The king and his company sport flinging on each other camphor and sandal-paste, squirting rose-water with the help of bamboo syringes, besmearing heads and faces with civet-paste and hitting each other with camphor pieces. One of the epigraphic records[7] of the time of the third king of the Reddi dynastry of Kondavidu, referring to the very liberal use of musk, saffron, sandal, and rose-water, during these festivities, states that the particles of musk thrown about gathered together and formed large clouds of chocolate hue, the unending steams of rose-water sprinkled freely ressembled streams of heavy rain, while the large pieces of camphor hurled about looked like a hail-storm. Following their master's example, the assembled officers and citizens, sport with their own companions, using less costly aromatic substances like turmeric-powder, vermilion ghee and oil. Then followed the bath when the king and his sweet companions, coloured all over with sandal paste and camphor-powder, took a swim in a lotus tank in the park. The colourful celebrations came to an end with His Majesty giving audience to the public under a tree in the same park. This was the occasion for dancers and musicians poets and scholars, magicians and jugglers, wrestlers and boxers, archers and swordsmen to exhibit their respective skills and receive royal patronage.

The Redi kings of Kodavidu, specially Anavema and his successor Kumaragiri, were great patrons of this festival and bore the titles Vasantaraya and Karpura-vasantaraya.[8] Anavota Reddi[9] of Kodavidu and Virabhdra Reddi[10] and Allaya Dodda Reddi[11] of Rajamahendravaram also bore the title Karpuravanatarya. Reviewing the works of previous writers like Bharata and Bhoja and collecting theory with the practical demonstrations of a famous dancer-use named Lakumadevi, Kumarigiri wrote a new work on dance and named it Vasantarajiva after his chosen name. Kumaragiri's brother-in-law and minister and generalissimo, Katayavema, wrote a fine commentary on three plays of Kālidāsa and named it Kumāragirirajiyamu. Probably these were two out of the numerous literary works inspired by the annual Vasantotsavas of the time.

The establishments of the rulers of this period, specially those of

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Anavema and Kumāragiri, contained perfumeries or Sugandhasal as with large stocks of various kinds of perfumes. Avaci Tippayasetty a merchant magnate, was the Adhyaksha[12] of the Sugandhasala of Kumāragiri. Tippaya's brother Tirimala is said to have conducted the Vasantotsavas at Kondavidu single handed.[13]

The counterpart of the spring carnival was the autumnal festival called Lakshmī-utsavamulu or Mahālakshmī-pandugalu. Coming off in the Sarat season, this festival, like the spring festival, was celebrated for 9 days called Saran navarātras,[14] affording an opportunity for the display of pomp and pageantry, for the distribution of royal patronage to poets and scholars, actors and musicians[15]. These celebrations were in commemoration of the victory of goddess Durgā over the buffalo-headed demon Mahishāsura.

Devana-punnama[16] was another festival celebrated on the full moon day of the bright half of the months of Caitra and Kārtika. According to the Kridabhiramamu, the annual festival of god Tenunguraya of Kokolanu (Srikakulam in the Krishna district) used to be celebrated on this day[17]. Marking the close of the spring festivities the Davanapunnama also seems to have been associated with the festival called Dolotsava[18]. Among the Vesyas, in particular, this seems to have been an occasion for revering their gurus by presenting them with gifts[19].

Kārtika-punama or Kumāra-punnama[20], a day sacred to Kumārasvāmi, was celebrated on the full moon day of the bright half of the month of Kārtika. According to the Kasikhandamu,[21] the great sage Agastya,, with his wife, is said to have entered the Ciccaratorana or the fire-arch on this day at Draksarama to wash off all sins.

Nuli-punnma or Sravana-punnama[22](now, also known as jandhyalapunnima), coming off on the last day of the bright half of the month of Śrāvana, was an occasion for wearing new sacred-thread and feasting bala-bhaktas and young brahmacharis.[23]

The Sankramanas, marking the equinox, were also occasions of sanctity. These Sankramanas were of various kinds-monthly Sankramanas like the Kārtika-sankramana[24]; Rasi-i-Sankramanas (once in a month) like the Tula, Kanyā, Mesha, Midhuna, Kumbha, Mīna Makara and Rishabha sankramanas[25] and Ayana-sankramanas conce

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in six month like the Uttarayana, Daksinayana, Visu[26] and karkaṭaka Sankaramanas.[27] Great gifts were made by princes and nobles on these occasions particularly for the merit of their dead ancestors.

The Vaiśākha Tirunalla and the Caitra-parvam referred to in some of the records seem to be annual festivals celebrated on the first day of the respective months.

The Ardhodaya and the Mahodaya punya-kalaśa as will as the Solar and Lunar eclipses[28] were also occasions of great importance when a dip in the sea or river was considered to be meritorious.

The Krishṇa and the Godavary Puskaram festivals,[29] coming once in twelve years, when Jupiter (Brhaspati) enters the two sings of the Zodiac, Leo (Simha) and virgo (Kanyā) respectively, were sacred occasions of great importance when people from far and near flocked to the banks of these two great rivers for a holy dip.

The other festivals refered to in the contemporary records are Ekādasī festival,[30] Amāvasya festival,[31] Ja.asayana Ekādasī,[32] Jayanti Mahotsavam or Sri Jayanti,[33] Mahākārtika, Uttar Nakshatra festival,[34] Kyatipata or vyatipatayoga,[36] Mahāvyatipata,[37] Sanvarostna,[38] Mahā dvādasi,[39] Nela Sankrantiutsava,[40] Sankranti-taditionta utsavam,[41] Pandi utsavam,[42] Sastrardhamaina-vaisakha-tirunaal,[43] Krsnaayanti,[44] Cerivandu Utsavamu[45] (a festival during which the diety was taken round in a boat on a tank).

Besides these nitya and nainuttika mahotsavas[46], there were the annual festivals[47] and marriage festivales or Kalyāna-mahotsavas[48] of the various gods and goddesses. Sometimes, these festivals coincided with one of those referred to above, e.g. the annual festival of Tenunguraya of Srikakulam was celebrated on the Davana-punnama[49] day; the marriage festival of a diety at Bezawada was celebrated no the Mesha sankrānti.[50] On these occasions the diety, accompained by the consorts and Parivāradevatās, was taken in procession in a car gaily decorated with fluttering flags, coloured cloth and festoons and buntings, round the village with cheering crowds of men women and children, gaily attired, lining the streets.[51] On such occasions there was free feeding on a large scale in the maṭhas and satras attached to the temples during all the days of the festivals. One record[52] from Draksarama, dated S. 1075, registers a gift of land by Maha-

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maṇḍaleśvara Kona Satyarāju to the Tiruvidhi Maṭha of god Bhimesvara for feeding ascetics during all the days of the deity's marriage festival. There was plenty of music and dance also on these occasions.[53] Generally on these occasions fairs were held. To this category of festivals and festive occasions also belonged the Jatras of village goddesses like Gangaparamesvaramma, Nunkalamma, Musanamma etc.[54]

In addition to these festivals and festive occasions which were associated with and regarded as sacred to particular gods and goddesses, it was also a widely prevalent practice in those days for individuals to institute festivals in the celebrated temples of the country to be performed in their names. One record[55] from Srikakulam in the Ganzam district, dated S 1155, states that the famous Vaishṇava teacher Narasimha Mahāmuni, instituted a festival in the local temple to be celebrated on the day of the Bharani-nakshatra which was his birth star and gifted some cash towards the expenses. Another record[56] from the same place dated S 1178 states that a certain Narasimhapuri Mahāmuni gifted some cash to the local temple for celebrating, on the day of the Uttarasadha-nakshatra, which was his birth-star, a festival during which the diety, accompanied by his consort Lakshmī, was taken in procession round the village. A third record[57] from Srikurmam dated S 1163 registers a gift of cash by a certain Suru Mahasenapati for celebrating a festival on Hasta-nakstatra, which was his birth-star, when the diety was taken in procession round the village. A fourth record[58] from the same place dated S 1161 registers a gift of 20 Ganda-madas by a certain Tirthapadadasa for celebrating a festival every month on the day of the Svatinakstra which was his birth-star. Yet another record[59] from the same place dated S 1167 registers a gift to the local temple by a certain Sridharanayaka for celebrating on the day of his birth-star a festival during which the deity was taken in procession round the village. A sixth record[60] from the same place dated S 1137 registers a gift by a certain Srikaranadasa Mahāsenāpati for celebrating a festival similar to that mentioned above on the day of his birth-star which was Citta. One record[61] from Simhachalam dated S 1142 registeres a gift of cash by Citsukabhattarakulaina Narasimhamahamuni to the local temple

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for celebrating a festival on the day of Uttara-phālguna nakshtra which was his birth star. An epigraph[62] from Narasaropet in the Guntur district dated S 1219 states that Mahāmaṇḍalesvara Raya-ganda-Gopala Codadeva made a gift to the temple of Cennakesvara of Kotyadona for perfroming the Ganda-Gopala tirunala in the month of Caitra. This festival was obviously named after the donor's title Ganda-gopala. Two inscriptions[63] from Draksarama mention a Kathaka-mahotsava instituted in the local temple by the later Pallava chief Kopperunjinga.

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1. Cf. S. I. I. IV. No. 1087; V. Nos. 48, 49, 54, 125; VI. Nos 84, 219, 619; X. Nos. 350, 421, 475; N. N. D. I. C. P. No. 23; II. K. 40; Ep. Ind. XI. pp. 313-26; J.A. H. R. S. II. 207-08.
2. Cf. S. I. I. V. Nos. 125, 138; VI. Nos. 719, 726; N. D. I. II. K. 26.
3. Pn. Cr. pp.
4. S. I. I. V. Nos. 125; J. A. H. R. S. II. pp. 207-08.
5. Ibid.
6. Bibl. Ind. Vol. I
7. S. I. I. Vol.
8. Cf. C. P. No. 15 of 1922-23; Ep. Ind. III. pp. 22, 289; IV. pp. 326 Ep. Coll. No. 20 pf. 1915.
9. J. A. H. R. S. 1928-29 pp. 221-33
10. Ks. Kh. p. 5. pr. 15
11. Ep. Ind. V. pp. 53-69.
12. Haravilashmer. Intro.
13. Ibid.
14. N. D. I. I. C. P. No. 23
15. Sm. Dv. II. VII. v. 93.
16. S. I. I. X. Nos. 182, 362.
17. Kd. Km. p. 65. v. 204.
18. S. I. I. IV Nos. 1368, 1373.
19. Pn. Cr. II. p. 360.
20. S. I. I. V. No. 1236; VI. Nos. 726, 740.
21. Ks. Kh. III. v. 24.
22. S. I. I. VI. No. 1061; X. No. 548.

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23. Pn. Cr. II. p. 361.
24. S. I. I. IV. Nos. 774, 941.
25. Cf. S. I. I. IV. Nos. 610, 718, 750, 730, 940, 1013, 1077, 12621305 1356, 1367; V. Nos. 36, 104, 109, 111, 125, 126, 163, 202, 206, 1015, 1027, 1059, 1068, 1297; VI. Nos. 125. 969, 975;Ed. Ind. IV. pp. 32; 83-97; 328-30; V. pp. 142-51; N. D. I. II. K .29.
26. Cf. S. I. I. IV. Nos. 665, 676, 680, 681, 682 ,685, 687, 689, 705 707, 712, 725, 729, 730, 738, 739, 744, 748, 751, 752, 763, 767, 786, 787, 929, 930, 944, 991, 1008, 1015, 1057, 1958, 1064, 1081, 1086, 1091, 1099, 1100, V. Nos. 34, 37, 55, 56, 63, 67, 72, 75, 76, 77, 89, 90, 112, 116, 131, 137, 150, 182, 190, 203, 208, 1005, 1014, 1023, 1034-36, 1069, 1074, 1087, 1103; VI. N. 98; X. Nos. 6,65; N. D .I o.82.
27. S. I. I. IV. Nos. 774, 1114.
28. Ibid. V. No. 45; VI. No. 120.
29. Cf. C.T. I. Nos. 34,42, 51; S. I. I. IV. Nos. 661, 749, 766, 1020, 1112, 1224, 1255, 1316, 1322, 1373; V. No.s. 8, 48, 49, 50, 60, 71, 73, 74, 79, 144, 160, 1016, 1026, 1040, 1060, 1071, 1094, 1130' 1136, 1240, 1273, 1279, 1336, 1340, VI. N s. 183, 204, 205, 612, 800, 832, 924, 965, 1198; X. Nos. 13, 14, 17, 74, 123, 134, 278, 196, 363, 368, 369, 402, 447, 464, 467, 535, 560, 571, 583, 693, 704; N. D. I. II. Kn. 35; 0. 28; III. O. 220; Ep. Ind. IV. pp. 330-309; XIII. pp. 237-59; XXV. pp. 137. 44.
30. S. I. I. IV. No. 1101; V. No. 114; Ep. Ind. Coll. No. 290 of 1934-35.
31. S. I. I. VI. No. 1230; X.No. 586; N. D.I. II. K. 51.
32. S. I. I. V. No. 1304; N. D. I. II. No. 63.
33. S. I. VI. No. 1166.
34. S. I. I./V. Nos. 1252, 1310; VI. No. 896.
35. Ibid. No. 243, X. Nos. 341, 417, 429, 465, 528.
36. N. D. I. II. K. 51
37. Cf. S. I. I. IV. Nos. 1017, 1018, 1093, 1099, 1127, 1160, 1167, 1191 1192, 1194 to 1198, 1240, 1264, 1282, 1291, 1326, 1357; V. Nos. 71, 91, 1016, 1017, 1022, 1027, 1028, 1045, 1053, 1067,

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1068, 1089; J. A. H. R. S. XI. pp. 205-11.
38. S. I. I. V. N. 1056.
39. Ibid. No 138; Ks. kh. v. 19.
40. S. I. I. IV. Nos. 1032; V. Nos. 205, 1008, 1022, 1028, 1045, 1098, 1099, 1280, 1323, 1326, 1330, 1331.
41. S. I. I. V. No. 1308.
42. S. I. I. IV. No. 1245.
43. Ibid. No. 1280.
44. S. I. I. VI. Nos. 120, 121; X. No. 435.
45. S. I. I. V. No. 1251.
46. C. T. No. 56
47. S I. I. X. No. 565; N. D. I. K. 18; Ep. Ind. III. pp. 74-103; IV. pp. 32-54; 83-97; 226-242.
48. S. I. I. V. Nos. 1249; X. No. 577; N. D. I. K. 19; Ep. Ind. IV. pp. 32-54.
49. S. I. I. IV. Nos. 1098, 1383; X. No. 479; N. D. I. II. K. 60.
50. Kd. Rm.
51. S. I. I. IV. No. 1098. 742.
52. Ks. Kh. III. V. 19. S. I. I. V. No. 1287; X. No. 340.
53. S. I. I. IV. No. 1098.
54. Ks. Kh. III. v. 19.
55. S. I. I. V
56. S. I. I. V. No. 1275.
57. Ibid. No. 1291.
58. Ibid. No. 1299.
59. Ibid. No. 1303.
60. Ibid. No. 1305.
61. Ibid. No. 1287.
62. S. I. I. VI. No. 1167.
63. S. I. I. IV. No. 661.
64. Ibid. Nos. 1323, 1324.

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"THE 19TH ANKA YEAR INSCRIPTION OF KAPILESWARADEVA OF THE PURI—JAGANNATHA TEMPLE"

By

Dr. K. B. Tripathi.

Of the five inscriptions of Gajapati Emperor Kapileswaradeva (1435-1467 A. D.) of Orissa which we find engraved on the Jaya-Vijaya doorway in the temple of Jagannatha at Puri, the one that is dated the 19th. Anka year of the monarch, is highly interesting. Some of its contents have not yet been satisfactorily explained and its historical importance has not yet been clarified. The object of this paper is an attempt to solve these difficulties.

This lithic record is written in early Oriya script. The first attempt to decipher its text and to give its translation in English was made by Rajendralal Mitra in 'Antiquities of Orissa.', 1880. But since this text was not satisfactory Manmohan Chakravarti made a fresh attempt to restore its text and discuss its historical significance. (See J. A. S. B. Vol. LXII, 1893). (For correct transcript See Appendix enlcosed herwith).

Since then R. D. Banerjee, (Cp. History of Orissa Vol I (1928)-Page 301).

Dr. Mahtab (Cp. Orissa Itihāsa 1948 pages 162- 163) and P. Mukherji (Cp. p. 28 The History of the Gajapati kings of Orissa, Cuttack 1953) have attempted to throw light on its historical significance.

The substance of this record is that when the King Kapileswaradeva in his 19th. Anka year on his return from conquest (digvijaya) of Malika Parisā was attending the entertainment or dinner of a hero (Vīra-manohi) at Puri, he made a gift of the robe called Pundaorikshagopa to the diety Purusottama at the request of a high officer named Mahāpātra Raghudeva Narendra.

The 19th anka year of the king corresponds to his 16th regnal years i.e. to A. D. 1450-51. Chakravarti states that the details of the record correspond to Dt. 12.4.1450.

Of the above mentioned historians of Orissa both Banerjee and Mukherji doubtfully indicate that Malika-Parisā refers to a Muhammedan ruler of Bengal. R. D. Banerji writes—

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'A record on the right side (of the temple of Jagannatha at puri) was incised on the 19th. Anka and records that Kapilendra having conquered the side of Mallikā Parisā 'meaning perhaps the Sultan of Gaur or Malik Padshah, on his return, gave to Jagannatha, one 'Sārī' known as Puṇḍarikagopa"—P. 301 ibid.

Mukherji writes—

"In his Jagannath temple inscription dated April, 1450 Kapilendra made a refernce to his 'digvijaya' against Malika Parisa (Malik Padshah). In all probability he won a victory over Sultan Naziruddin who reigned from 1442 to 1459 and assumed the title of Gauḍeswar or overlord of Bengal.—P.28 the History of Gajapati Kings of Orissa-1953.

Dr. Mahtab is silent about the phrase 'Malika-Parisā' and says that Kapilendra after his conquest of the Deccan presented a 'puṇḍarika gopasadhi, to the deity Jagannath(Cp. P. 162, History of Orissa written in Oriya by Mahtab.)

They (both Banerji and Mukherji) equate the word 'Parisā' with 'Pādsah.' But the word 'Parisā' is a 'tadbhava' traceable to Skt. 'Parisat.' In Pali its derivative is 'Parisā' is also used in the sense of troops.' Cp. Pali Jātaka samgaha by Tungar:—'parisā dvadasayojanā ahosi' in Sabbatdāṭhajātaka, cp. also Woolner's Aśoka Text and Glossary, pt. II, p. 109.

Hence Malika Parisā means the army of Malika and Malika appears to be no other than Mallikarjuna. (1449) King of the Vijayanagra empire, the successor of Deva Raya II 1419-1449) (cp. p. 7. sources of Vijayanagara History S. K. Ayangar, (Madras, 1919). Madla Panji (The Jagannatha temple chronicle) states that the king Kapileswara killed (or struck) Malakā in his 21st Anka.

The proper name that occurs in the inscription is' Malikā. There will be philological difficulty if we trace it to the word 'Mālik' of Perso-Arabic origin. On the other hand it easily corresponds to the word Mallikā of the word-group Mallikārjuna. Moreover among the Muslim Rulers who were contiguous neighbours of Kapileswardeva in northern,,central and western India, we do not know any one bearing the name Malik.

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Kapileswara's expedition against Hampa, the capital of Vijayanagar empire is also mentioned in his Velligalani trillingual copperplate grant discovered at Baptla, Dist. Guntur, dated Saka 1380 (A.D. 1458) in the 28th Anka year of the king. Compare Annual Report on S. I. Epigraphy 1934-35 p. 68 and journal of Bombay Historical Society Vol. IV p. 94-111)

The officer Raghudeo Narendra is also mentioned in the Tirupati temple inscription (Godavari District) as Kapila's Governor of Rajamundry (see South Indian Inscriptions Text-Vol. V. Sl. no. 100 a Telugu inscriptions)

As regards the expression "puṇḍariksha Gopa Sāḍi delu" of the inscription, it may be noted that at Puri we have a palmleaf Ms. containing the engraving of the scene of Kapileswaradeva's presenting a' puṇḍarika gopa sāḍhi' to the Deity Jagannath. (It was shown in the exhibition arranged by the Utkal University during the visit of the Linguistic Commission to Orissa in the year 1955).

Appendix

In Samasta Anka year 19 of Kapileswardeva: No. 2 on the right side of the Jaya Vijaya door way in the temple of Jagannath at Puri. cp. J. A. S. B. Vol LXII (1893)

1. Bira Śrī Gajapati Gauḍesvara Pratāpa Kapileswavaradeva
2. Māhārājāṅkara bije rāye Samasta 19 ṅka śrāhi Mesa amā-
3. bai Rabibāre Malikā Parīsā dīga-bije Karī bāhuḍā kāṭakāi
4. Śrī Pṛsotama-kaṭake bira-moṇoi-bīje samae Śrī carṇa
5. agrate Koṭhara- ānta (?) ra-parīkasha Mahāpātra Raghudeo Narīndra
6. Jaṇāi chāḍa karāilāku āigā hollā Śrī Pṛsottamara
7. Puṇḍarīksha Gopa Sāḍi delu ethaku je abā laṅghai se Jaga-
8. (nāthadebaṅku droha) karai e (muda) 1 (e) Ke(lāi Khuṇṭiyā lihāi (lā)

The portions of the text enclosed in brackets are inserted from the reading of M. M. Chakravarty They are not legible in my estampage. This estampagse has been kindly supplied to me by the Supdt. Orissa. Museum.

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A NOTE ON THE LAST DAYS OF RANA SANGRAM SINHA OF MEWAR

By

G. C. Ray Chaudhnry.

The purpose of the present article is to piece together the little bit of information found strewn in the pages of Muslim historians regarding activities of Rana Sangram Sinha of Mewar after the battle of Khanua. The famous prince may perhaps be assigned unhesitatingly the foremost place among the rulers of Rajputna. A valiant fighter, intripid, bold, courageous and chivalrous he had few equals even among the warrior race of Rajasthan., and he alone among the many famous Rajput kings can lay any claim to have built up the semblence of an empire. His great antagonist Babur, the founder of the Mughal empire in India, records in his famous Memoirs that "Rānā Sangā ..in these latter days had grown great by his own valour and sword. His original country was Chitūr; in the downfall of the power of the Mandāū Sultans, he became possessed of many of their dependencies such as Rantanbūr, Sārangpūr, Bhīlsān and Chandīrī." Again in the letter of Victory (fathenama) composed by Shaikh Zain after the battle of Khanua which is found bodily incorporated in Babur's Memoirs it is related that "the authority of (Sanga) was such that" Not one of all the exalted sovereigns of this wide realm as the Sulṭān of Delhi, the Sulṭan of Gujarāt and the Sulṭān of Mandū, could cope with (him and) one and all they cajoled him and temporised with him."(1) Tod in his *Annals of Mewar* tells us that, "The princes of Marwar and Ambar did him homage, and the Raos of Gwalior, Amjer, Sikri, Resen, Kalpee, Chanderi, Boondi, Gagrown, Rampura and Aboo, served him as tributaries or held him in chief."(2) This also receives some corroboration from Muslim historians.

About Sangram's pre-eminent position among the rulers of western India on the eve of the battle of Khanua there can hardly be any doubt. But after his defeat at the hands of Babur he practically disappears from history. He lived only for about a year after this

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disastrous event, and we have very little information about him during these last days.

Tod says that after the battle of Khanua "Sanga retreated towards the hills of Mewat, having announced his fixed determination never to reenter Cheetore but with victory. Had his life been spared, he might have redeemed the pledge; but the year of his defeat was the last of his existence, and he died at Buswa, on the frontijer of Mewat, not without suspicion of poison.'[4] Pandit Gourisankar Hirachand Ojha gives the following account. Sanga is said to have fallen into a swoon at the battle field of Khanua from where his followers carried him to the village of Baswa in Jaipur. After recovery the Rānā severely rebuked them and again began preparation for war and took the vow not to enter Chitor before eating Babur. He then retired to Rantambhor. Pandit Ojha observes that though the Rajputs suffered defeat at Khanua, it could not crush their strength and Babur feared that the Rajputs would again combine to challenge his authority .He therefore resolved to destroy the power of the Rājputs and after taking Kalpi and Irich etc. laid siege to Chanderi, then held by Medini Rai, one of the most trusted lieutenants of Sanga. The fort fell on January 29, 1528. Meanwhile Sangram also advanced towards chanderi and laid siege to Irich., which was not far from Kalpi But his followers who were opposed to a fresh contest with the Mughals administered poison in his body which working slowly brought about his death within a few days.[5]

It appears to the present writer that a more reliable account of the last days of the Rana may be presented by piecing together certain incidental observations of several Muslim historians of the days of Akbar and Jahangir which have not been noted, as far as known to the present writer, by any previous scholar. The authors of the *Tārikh-i-Shershāhī* and the*Makhzan-i-Afghānī* inform us that after *Khanua, Sanga and Sultan* Mahmud, son of Sikander Lodi whom the Rana and Hasan Khan Mewati in concert with the great nobles had raised to the throne after the first battle of Panipat, fled towards Chitor. Sultan Mahumd remained for a season in that neighbourhood and then went away to Bihar.[6] The *Tabaqāt-i-Ākbarī* also gives a similar acount.[7] The Tārikh-i-Rashidī goes as far as to say

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that Babur marched towards Chitor where he won a decisive victory over the infidels.[8] But this is clearly wrong. It may noticed that the author knows nothing about Sanga's retreat towards Mewat or Ranthmbhor . We learn from the *Memoirs of Babur* that after the battle was won he sent two of his commanders and several others in pursuit of Sanga. His purpose however was not realised because of their slackness. He bitterly complains "I ought to have gone myself, and not have left the matter to what I expected from other people." He himself started in pursuit of the fugitives and went two miles beyond the camp of the Rajputs but turned back because it was late in the day. Three days later he summoned the Turk amirs and the amirs of Hind at a conference to discuss plan about moving into the kingdom of Sanga. But it was given up because of scarcity of water and much heat on the road.[9] Babur however rounded off his newly won victory by subduing Mewat.

Ojha's surmise that the power of the Rajputs was not completely broken at Khanua is partly correct. There cannot be any doubt that the loss suffered by the Rana was immense. His chief confiderate Hasan Khan Mewati was dead. So also several of the valiant Rajput chiefs and commanders who followed him on the fateful day of 17th March 1527. Besides most of the 200,000 soldiers and horsemen who fought on his side also lay dead on the field. But there is some indication that even this immense loss could not damp the spirit of the valiant Rajput king. Some time before the rainy season of the year 1527, the Rana sent his second son Vikramaditya to Sultan Bahadur of Gujrat. He was cordially recieved and after the rains, very probably in August or September was given leave to return to Chitor.[10] What was exactly the mission of the Rana's son is anybody's guess. But the fact remains that he was for several months with Bahadur Shah, and one is tempted to hazard the suggestion that he was sent to enlist the support of that Sultan on behalf of his father in order to offset the loss suffered at Khanua ? In any case Sanga as Abul Fazl indicates, was by no means inactive. He distinctly states that news was frequently brought that Medini Rai, the ruler of Chanderi, was collecting troops and that the Rana also was preparing war.[11] It is this pressing

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danger from the Rana's side which induced Babur to hasten to Chanderi, lay siege to and capture it. After reducing Chanderi his aim was, as he himself makes clear, to move against Raisin, Bhilsa and Sarangpur, which were also held by another trusted lietunant of Sanga namely Silhadi,and then to move on Rana Sanga at Chitor.[12] But he was however forced to change the course of his campaign as bad news arrived announcing the defeat of the Mughals at the hands of the Afghans in the east.

Meanwhile Sanga's valiant career was coming to an end. As has been mentioned before, he was laying siege to Irich when Babur marched against Chanderi. It might be, as Ojha thinks, he proceeded to create a diversion to relieve the pressure on Medini Rai. But sudden death robbed him of his chance. Abul Fazl in his *Akbara-nāma* records the story that he beheld in a dream an ancestor of his under a dreadful appearance. He awoke in great terror and immediately set about his return and on the way he expired.[13] The historian tells nothing about the poisoning incident referred to by Tod and Ojha.

The stray observations of Muslim historians noticed above definitely go to show that Rana Sanga was preparing for a second round of battle with Babur to reverse the verdict of Khanua, but before he could effectively challenge his great enemy, the hand of death removed him from the scene. As the sequal shows, Babur even after this did not give up the idea of reducing Chitor. Shortly after Sanga's death a quarrel broke out between his eldest son and successor Ratan Sinha and the second son Vikramaditya who got Rantambhor as Jagir from his father. Vikramaditya offered to surrender Rantambhor to the Mughal emperor and agreed to serve him, In return Babur consented to bestow upon him, Shamsabad in exchange for Ranthambhor and promised to place him on the throne of his father. This arrangement appears to have been modified a little at a later date. For, we find in a list of Babur's revenue, that Vikramjit was still in possession of the fort of Rantambhor over which the emperor claimed dominion.[14] Babur was very possibly prevented from conquering Chitor, because of his death within a year and a few months.

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1. Memoirs of Babur (A. Beveridge), 483, 561-62.
2. Annals of Mewar (Calcutta edition), 236.
3. Cf. Memoirs of Babur. 562.
4. Tod, *ibid.*, 241
5. *Udayapura Rājya kā Itihāsa*, Vol. 1. 380 ff.
6. Elliot, History of India, Vol. 347; Dorn, History of the Afghans, 101.
7. B. De's translation Vol. II 137-
8. Elias and Ross's translation. 402.
9. Memoirs of Babur 576-77..
10. *Mirat-i-Sikandarī* (translated by F. L. Faridi) 158-9; *Tab,. Ākbari* (B. De. Vol III 472)
11. Ākabarnāmā (Beveridge) Vol. I. 268.
12. Memoirs of Babur, 598.
13. Akbarnāmā (Beveridge), I 268.
14. Memoirs of Babur, 595, 612-13.

WHO KILLED HEMŪ ?

By

Dr. Dasharatha Sharma.

Accounts regarding the death of Hemū differ a good deal. According to the *Akbarnāmā* Hemū was brought in bound to the Emperor's presence by Shāh Qulī Khān, almost immediately after the battle of Pānīpat was over. Though Bairam Khān asked Akbar to slay Hemū with his own hands, so that he (Akbar,) may earn the title Ghāzī,, 'the young Emperor refused to comply with the Regent's advice. He saw nothing meritorious in such an act. Ultimately Bairam Khān, "under the influence of hereditary beliefs which take their place in men from the imitation of fathers and teachers, himself became engaged in the acquisition of this fancied merit."[1]

The veracity of this account has been questioned by Dr. V. A. Smith, according to whom the "Official story, that a magnanimous

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sentiment of unwillingness to strike a helpless prisoner already half dead compelled him to refuse his guardian's instructions, seems to be the late invention of courtly flatterers."[2] He gives greater credence to the accounts of Ahmad Yādgār and the Dutch writer, Peter van den Broecke which state that Akbar slew Hemu with his own hands, even though the Dutch account was written as late as 1620 A. D. and Yadgār's probably not before 1600A.D.[3] And in doing this he brushes aside not only the testimony of the contemporary histotians, Abul Fazl and Nizāmuddīn, but also that of Badāūnī whose interesting work,to use Smith's own words, "contains so much hostile criticism of Akbar that it was kept concealed during that emperor's lifetime and could not be published until after Jahangir's accession. ' We give below what this fearless critic has to say about Hemū's death:—[4]

"Shāh Qulī Khān Mahrūm happened to meet with Hemū's elephant, and the elephant driver said to him, 'Do not kill me ! Hemū is riding upon my elephant.' So they brought him as he was to the camp. And Shaikh Gadā-i-Kamboh and others said to the Emperor, 'Since this is Your Majesty's first war against the infidels, you should flesh your sword in this unbeliever, for such an act would have great reward." But the Emperor replied, 'Why should I strike him now that he is already as good as dead ? If sensation and activity were left in him I would do so." Then the Khān Khānā was the first to strike his sword into him, as an act of religious warfare, and following his example, Gadā-i-Shaikh and the others deliberately made an end of him."[5]

If it be necessary to confirm this account, we can utilise a contemporary Rājpūt source of history, the *Dalpatvilas*, first brought to the notice of scholars in my introduction to the *Khyāt of Dayāl Dās Sindhāyach.* Its Rājasthānī version, rendered into English is as follows:-

"Hemū was then seated on an elephant. An arrow struck him in the eye. He remained seated on the elephant with his eye bleeding. But his army was defeated and the Pathāns fled. With them fled Hemū seated on his elephant. On the way he was caught by Shāh Quli Khān and Walī Beg, who asked the elephant driver, 'Who is there ? Who is he ?" At first the elephant driver did not disclose Hemū's identity, but later on he said, 'It is Hemū himself.'

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Then they took hold of him, and brought him to the Emperor. The Khān Khānā said to the Emperor, 'If you slay him with your own hands you will be a Ghāzī.' The Emperor replied, I have not the heart to kill him." The Amīrs requested him again three or four times. But the Emperor said, 'I cannot kill Hemū. I feel pity for him. Then Bairam Khān from one side and Walī Beg from the other did Hemū to death."

Dispassionate and unprejudiced consideration of all this evidence can lead only to one conclusion, viz., that Akbar was innocent of the crime of killing Hemū in cold blood. V. A. Smith though a great historian, had a naive trust in every thing written by Europeans, with the result that he has done scant justice, nay injustice even, to certain aspects of Akbar's career, specially to those noble traits of character which mark him out as one of the greatest rulers that our country has produced.

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1. *Akbarnāmā*, II. pp. 65-66.
2. *Akbar the Great Mogul*, p. 39.
3. *Ibid.*, pp. 463 and 473. Smith thinks that, Yādgār's account was written in A.D. 1695 or a little later. *Bibliography of Indo-Moslem History excluding Provincial Monarchies*, p. 20 states that it seem to have been written prior to 1613 A. D.
4. *Akbar the Great Mogul*, p. 461.
5. *Muntakhab-ut-tawārīkh*, II, p. 9.
6. Śāḍūl Oriental Series, Bikaner.

THE BHAGAVAD GĪTĀ IN PERSIAN

By

Dr. M. L. Roychaudhary.

The Srimad Bhagavad Gītā was known to the Muslims from the beginning of their contact with the Hindus. It was first translated in extracts by Iran Shahri in Persian. Al-Beruni in his Kitabul Hind

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translated some of the verses of the Gītā in Arabic though he could not enter into the spirit of the scripture in every place.

Akbar was well known for his encouragement of translations of non-Muslim scriptures. He asked his court poet Allāma Faizī to undertake the translation of the Gītā and it was completed by that master-composer with the help of two Hindu Savants of Akbar's Court.

Prince Dara Shikuh was inspired by this translation of Faizi to undertake a translation of the Upanishads.

Besides forming a part of the great epic of Mahābhārata, which was translated as in Persian and was known as the Rajnamah, the Gītā has independently been translated into Persian prose and verse by many Scholars. There are two prose Mss. of it in the India Office Library of London. The author's name is not mentioned on one.

The other one bears the name of Abul Fazl as its translator, but the Orientalists of Europe do not agree on that. They contend that this translation is from the pen of Dara Shikuh, the unfortunate hair-apparent of Shah Jahan.

A similar Ms. is with the Asiatic Society of Calcutta also, which is contemplated to be published by the Indian Council for Cultural Relations, New Delhi. This Ms. is named as Āb-i-Zindagī. Precisely a similar Ms. was available with Pt. Amar Nath Madan Retd. Tahsildar of Delhi and in his opnion it is Faizi's translation. This was published by the Hindu Mahasabha of Delhi in 1928 under the title 'Rāj-i-Maghfarat.'

As regards the translation in Persian poetry, one Ms. is with the Asiatic Society of Calcutta bearing the name of Faizi as its aurher. It was written by one Kundan Lal Siyar of Shahjahanabad in 1288 A. H. (1871 A. D.) and the Society's cataloguer does not consider it to be Faizi's work. The opinion about its authorship is divided, but because there is no alternative claim out to it, we have to accept it as the work of Faizi. The translation is the work of an expert linguist who has a complete hold of Persian and Arabic both, and has depth in the study of Sanskrit.

Some topic touched in the Translation

Reincarnation

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How, for the protection of the righteous and the destruction of the unrighteuos, Lord himself incarnates is given.

mortality of the Soul.

The body perishes and the soul lives eternally-is beautifully described by Faizi.

Five senses, three Guṇas and the Salvation

The Senses or the elements of nature influence human beings for which he feels pain and pleasure, The senses are therefore, transient. In the three Guṇas, if Tamoguṇa is subjugated and sublimated for higher purpose, salvation or deliverance can be attained in no time:

Gnosis:—Knowledge is the one pre-requisite for realisation and there are certain stages passing through which man attains that faculty of discrimination and some of the stages are;

(1) Absorption in Divinity
(2) Worship of attributes.
(3) Control over senses.
(4) Control over heart.
(5) Control over perceptions.
(6) Piety
(7) Action.
(8) Charity.
(9) Acquisition of Knowledge.
(10) Praṇayāma, Control of breathing.
(11) Talking little
(12) Eating little
(13) Sleeping little.

By undergoing the above austirities, the pilgrim of the path of salvation will find himself in a new world of his own about which Faizi informs us:—

Vision of God.

When the aspirant under the above discipline of self-realization attains to gnosis, he is in a world where unity and diversity are identical and the and become one.

Actions:

Talking of practical life as a complement of life-divine, the Gītā

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exhorts human beings to become human by doing virtuous deeds and striving in the name of God. All actions are to be done in the name of God.

In what a forceful languages the message of Lord Krishna is translated by Faizi is evident from the few extracts given above The writer is bringing out the complete tranlation shortly so that the beauty of this sacred scripture may be known to the people of Iran and Afghanistan also to enable us to come to the conclusion that all sacred Scriptures are the common heritage of mankind.

EARLY MARRIAGE, DOWRY AND DIVORCE IN NORTHERN INDIA UNDER THE GREAT MUGHULS (1556-1707)

By

Mr. P. N. Ojha.

Early marriage and dowry had practically become universal features of the North Indian social life during the period under review. Girls could hardly escape marriage when they attained the age of nine or ten years, and the boys sixteen or seventeen. The accounts of foreign travellers, the Persian chronicles as well as contemporary literary works contain numerous references to these practices which were, more or less, prevalent both among the Hindus and the Moslems.

Fitch, for example, refers to early marriage among the Brahmins of Bengal, thus, "Their daughters be married at or before the age of ten."[1] *Pelsaert* writes, "The Hindus join their children in marriage at the age of only four or five years"[2]. *Manucci* referring to the Hindus observes, thus, "often their daughters are married even before they have learnt to talk."[3] He also refers to an interesting case or a girl in Sind who gave birth to a male child when she was only of nine years of age.[4] *Withington*[5] and *Mandelslo*[6] also refer to early marriage as prevalent in those days. *Thevenot*, referring to the province of Baglana[7] writes,

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"The Indians marry their children very young and make them cohabit much sooner than they do in many places of the Indias; they celebrate Matrimony at the Age of four, five or six years, and suffer them to bed together when the Husband is ten years old and the wife eight; but the women who have children so young soon leave off child-bearing, and commonly do not conceive after thirty years of age, but become extremely wrinkly and therefore there are places in the Indies where the young married couple are not suffered to lie together before the Man be fourteen years old...."[8] Again, while referring to Ajmer he observes, "In the extremity of this Province, the Maids are very early Marriageable, and so they are in many other places of the Indies., where most part can enjoy Man, at the age of eight or nine years and have children at ten."[9] *Careri* also refers to early marriages, particularly among the Moslems, thus, "The Mehometan Indians Marry very young, but the Idolators at all Ages."[10] A Jesuit writer, Father Lane wrote in 1709 A.D., thus, "This also a a custom in several castes,particularly those of the greatest eminence, to marry their children in their tender age.[11]

Besides, we also get incidental references to early marriage in the contemporary literatures,and more particularly in the Bengali literature. In Mukundarām's "Kavikankan chandi," for example, we find Kālketu himself making a statement to his wife, Phullarā, to the effect that he had been married to her during his infancy.[12] In Dvija Madhava's "Mangal Chandeer Geet" we also find a reference to Dhanapati's Marriage with Lahanā when the former was only of five years of age.[13] From Mukundarām, again, we learn that the average age of puberty among the girls was twelve years, and it was regarded as a high time for their marriage.[14] Even Chaitanya's first marriage appears to have been consummated at an early age.[15]

Abul Fazl also refers to this institution of early marriage, thus, "In the extensive country of India men are active to form this union at a tender age, and this introduces the leaven of evil"[16] The royal princes, it appears, were generally married when they attained the age of 16 or 17 years.[17]

In this connection, it is interesting to note that the foreign

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travellers like *Fitch*;[18] *Linschoten*[19] and *Thevento*[20] clearly refer to a contemporary practice of maintaining a gap for certain number of years between the performance of the formal ceremonies connected with the marriage and the actual commencement of the conjugal life. Manucci also refers to this system thus, "But the father and mother do not deliver their daughter to the son-in-law until she has attained puberty. This event is celebrated with all possible solemnity and even greater obscenity"[21] And again, "It is after this second celebration that the woman is given over to her husband and not before.[22] An almost similar kind of practice generally connected with early marriages, continues to exist even today,in some parts of Bihar and U.P., and it is popularly known as "Gaunā" or "Dvirāgamana." The more orthodox sections of the Brahmins among the Hindus would have justified this practice of early marriage by referring to Manu whose regulation regarding this important question runs thus, 'A man aged thrity years shall marry a maiden of twelve who pleases him, or a man of twenty four a girl eight of age;if (the performance of) his duties would (otherwise) be impeded, (he must marry) sooner."[24] This regulation of Manu might have encouraged among the Hindus the practice of an old men marrying young girls, and Manucci[23] also refers to it. Bharātochandra, who portrays the Bengali life in early 18th century, clearly refers to a number of instances of unsuitable marriages with their grim consequences.[25] Marriages after fifty years of age do not appear to have been generally appreciated or supported by the Society.[26]

Emperor Akbar seems to have disliked early marriages and he tried to check this practice as far as possible. Abul Fazl writes, 'He abhors marriages which take place between men and woman before the age of puberty. They bring forth no fruit and his Majesty thinks them even hurtful, for afterwards, when such a couple ripens into manhood, they dislike having connexion and their home is desolate"[27] Even a hostile critic like Badāoni observes, "Boys were not to marry before the age of sixteen, nor girls before fourteen, because the offspring of early marriages is weakly."[28] And again, "He forbade girls before fourteen and boys before sixteen years of age to be married. And the story of the consummation of the Prophet's

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marriage with Suddiqāh he utterly abhorred,[29] Badaoni also refers to the fact that Akbar disliked the idea of old women (whose menses had ceased) wishing for a husband,[30] or of a husband marrying a wife older than him by twelve years.[31] If, however, Badāoni is to be believed, Akbar may be regarded as a great anticipator , some four centuries back, of the modern social reformers in these directions, and for these, indeed, he was discredited by the orthodox Moslems of his times, It is, however, difficult to say as to what extent Emperor's orders, in these respects, were carried out into practice. We learn, for example, from Badaoni that no son or daughter of a commoner was to be married until he or she had gone to the office of the chief of Police and the correct age of the prospective couple had been ascertained by that official or his agents.[32] But, this led to various kinds of corruptions among the officials as Badāoni himself says, "In this way a host of profits and perquisites surpassing all computation, guess or imagination, found their way into the pockets of those in office, especially certain police officers, and effete khan-lings, and other vile oppressors."[33]

Dowry and Divorce:—The restrictions of caste-marriage, which might have considerably narrowed the sphere of matrimonial relations, may be regarded as an important factor responsible for the prevaelnce of dowry system in the society.

It was more universal among the richer and well-to-do classes than among the commoners. The nature of dowry varied according to the economic standard and the social status of the parties concerned. Generally speaking, the term "dowry" may be used in two broad senses, viz., that taken at the time of or prior to the performance of the marriage ceremonies, and that taken after the consummation of the marriage in form of presents or gifts. In the first sense it came to be popularly known as 'Pan" or "tilak, while in the second sense it was termed as "Jautuka" or "dahej". Various scattered references to both these forms of dowry, during the period under review, are available in the contemporary literatures,Persian Chronicles and the accounts of the foreign travellers.

Both Mukundaram and Dvij Mādhava, for example, refer to "Ṗan"(dowry) in the marriage of Kālketu with Phullarā.[34] In the

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"Haribansa" we find a reference to its existence in Orissa.[35] Marriage presents popularly known as "Jautuka" in Bengal and Orissa,[35] and "dahej" in Bihar and portions of modern U. P. and Rajasthan, also appear to have been almost universal and popular in our period These presents differed according to the status of the contracting parties, and in cases of rich and well-to do classes, they generally consisted of costly jewels and metals, ornamented furniture, landed property, elephants, chariots horses, servants and maids, besides other items of luxuries and necessaries of life.[36] Both Manucci[37] and Careri[38] refer to the prevalence of dowry among the Hindus.

Another form of dowry was also in vogue in those days. In this, it was the bride's side and not the bridegroom's side which received the dowry. This kind of dowry (pan) was also prevalent in mediaeval Bengal[39], and it seems to have continued there as late as the mid-18th century.[40] This practice still continues among some of the lower castes in Bihar, Bengal and U.P., and more particularly in the cases of aged and moneyed grooms who intend to marry young brides. *Manucci* refers to the prevalent practice of purchasing brides, thus, "It is not uncommon for a husband to by his wife" and he says that, in case, after the ceremony, the groom refused to marry the girl, he lost the earnest money and if the girl did so, her parents had to return to the groom double the amount taken.[41] This practice still continues among some sections in Bihar and Uttar Pradesh. On the authority of Abul Fazl, it can be mentioned that the system of dowry seems to have been absent among the Brahmins of those days.[42] Abul Fazl, further informs us that Emperor Akbar had disapproved of high dowries, although he (the Emperor) believed that the fixing up of high dowries was a preventive against rash divorces.[43]

In this connection, it is interesting to note that the Moslem society, particularly its richer and higher sections, could not remain altogether unaffected by the system of dowry. Both Badāoni and Nizamuddin Ahmad refer to the prevalence of this practice among the high class Moslems.[44] The Moslem law and customs allowed divorce conditionally,[45] as is the case even today. But, among the Hindus, it was not allowed, except in the cases of the low castes and the Shudras,[46] which continues even today, in many parts of this country. Marriage

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among the upper caste Hindus was indissolvable, and as such, the cruel hands of death alone could separate a couple from each other.

1. Foster's Early Travels, pp. 16,77 and 19.
2. Pelsaert, p. 84.
3. Storia, III, p. 54; Also p. 59 where he mentions that the normal age for the marriage of the daughters of the Brahmins was four or five years and in some cases the marriage could be postponed upto ten years of age but never beyond that.
4. Storia, I, p. 209.
5. Foster's Early Travels, p. 221.
6. Travels, pp. 51 and 58.
7. This province lay between Khāndesh and the Surat coast. (see Sen's notes on the Travels of Thevenot and Careri, chap.XLVIII,p. 323) Its Rathor rājas became vassals of the Moghuls in 1638 (Sarkar, Aurangzeb, Vol. I, pp. 50-51, 52-53). See also Ain II, p. 251.
8. Indian Travels (Ed. by Sen), p. 117; Also Withington—Foster's Early Travels, p. 221.
9. Ibid, p. 62.
10. Indian Travels (Ed. by Sen), p. 248.
11. Lockman—Travels of the Jesuits, II, p. 384.
12. Calcutta University edition, 1952, Part I. p. 270.
13. Calcutta University edition , 1952, p. 116.
14. Kavikankan Chandi, Published by Arunodaya Ray, Bangabāsi Press, Calcutta, 1902, p. 117.
15. "Chaitanya Charitāmrita" (Ādillilā), published by Devi-Prasanna Roy Chaudhuri, Calcutta, 1885 A. D., p. 343. Also "Chaitanya Mangal," published and printed by Arunodaya Ray, Cal, 1900 A. D. p. 62. We learn, here, that Vishwambhar's (Later on Chaitanya's)mother was reluctant to marry his son at an early age, lest his studies should be disturbed.
16. A. N., III (tr.)p. 791.
17. Abul Fazl refers to the marriage of Prince Murad when he was of 17 years of age on the 5th May, 1587 A. D. (A. N. III(tr,) p. 791); Prince Salim was married to the daughter of Rājā Bhagwān Das when he was sixteen years old (Badaoni, II (Lowe), p. 352). Manucci

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holds that the young Princes were brought up in the palace upto the age of 16 years and then they were to be married, (Sroria, II, p. 347).

18. Foster's Early Travels p. 16.

19. Purchas, His Pilgrims, X. p. 256.

20. Indian Travels(Ed. Sen), p. 117.

21. Storia, III, p. 58.

22. Ibid, p. 59.

23. Manu, IX, 94, p. 344; Saletore, II, p. 185.

24. Storia, III, p. 54.

25. Bhāratchandra Granthāwali, pt. II (Vidyā-Sundar), (Bangiyasāhitya Parishad), pp. 122-129.

26. Ain-I-Akbari, III (J and S), p. 341.

27. Ain-I-Akbari, I (Bloch.), p. 287; Also refer to the Emperor's saying as regards child-marriages. (Ain, III (J and S), p. 448).

28. Badāoni, II (Lowe)p. 315.

29. Ibid, p. 349. Siddiqāh is the title of Ayishā, the daughter of Abu Bakr. The story goes that she was only six years old when she was enaged to the Prophet who was then fifty years of age. The actual marriage took place when she was nine years of age. (vide Ain, I (tr.) p. 213, footnote). See also Sprenger's Life of Muhammad, III, p. 62.

30. Badāoni, II (Lowe), p. 367; Also the Emperor's saying regarding marriage, (Ain, III J and S), p. 449.

31. Ibid, p. 405.

32. Ibid.

33. Ibid.

34. In Mukundaram's "Kavikankan Chandi" (C.U., 1952) I, p. 175, we find reference to a dowry of twelve "Kāhanas" (eqivalent to twelve rupees) in the marriage of Kālketu with Phullarā. Also refer to Dvija Mādhava's "Mangal Chandeer Geet," (Cal. University, 1952, p. 38.

35. "Haribamsa" by Achutānanda Dās (Published by Rādhāraman pustakalya, Cuttack), canto I, p. 86. We learn here, that dowries, at times, also included lands, horses, elephants maidservants, besides hufge quantities of gold and silver.

36. References to marriage-presents (dahej) can be available in

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Tulsidas's 'Rāmcharit Mānas", Bālkānd (Geetā Press Edition No. 6, p. 302, dohā 325, Chaupāis I and 2); refèrences to "Jautuka" in Nimāi's marriage with Vishnupriyā can be found in the "Chaitnya Bhāgwat" (Patrikā House Edition, p. 90); See also "Mangal Chandeer Geet (Cu, 1952, p. 283), "Kavikankan Cahndi" (Bangabāsi Press, Cal. p. 283); Dharmamangal by Ghanrām Chakravarty (published by Arunodaya Roy, Second Ed., pp. 20 117, 149, and 172; For marriage presents in Ichchāwati's marriage refer to "Ichchāwati Haran," canto II, p. 20 (published by Sri Sridhar Rao, Cuttack Printing Co. Ltd., 2nd Ed.).

37. Storia; III, p. 61.

38. Indian Travels (Sen), p. 248.

39. Aspects of Bengali society, p. 4.

40. 'I married newly by paying a dowry of Rs. 20/- but I have not lived for a single day in my house "Bhārat Chandra, p. 118 (Basumati edition), See also Dr. K. K. Datta's "Studies in the History of Bengal Subāh" p. 74,) Also refer to Bharat-Chāndra Granthāvali (Bangiya Sahitya Parishad), pt. II (story of Vidyāsundar), p. 193.

41. Storia, II, p. 55. 42. Ain, III (J and S), p. 339. 43. Ain, I (Bloch), p. 288.

44. Badāoni refers to the rich dowry taken in the marriage of Prince Salim with the daughter of Rājā Bhagwan Dās. A sum of two crores of tankās was fixed as the marriage settlement. Rājā Bhagwan Dās "Gave as his daughter's dowry several strings of horses, one hundred elephants, boys and girls of Abyssinia, India and Circassia, and all sorts of golden vessels set with Jewels and Jewels, and Utensils of gold, and vessels of silver, and all sorts of stuffs, the quantity of which is beyond all computation." (Badāoni, II (Lowe), p. 352) Tabqāt-I; Akbari, (vol. II tr. by De. p. 599); Also Badoni (III, tr., p. 99) for a referneces to dowry in the marriage of Alikhān's daughter.

45. Refer to Badāoni, III, (tr.) p. 99, when in the case of Alikhāns' daughter's divorce the husband had to return back the dowry. Manucci holds that divorce among the Moselsms was possible but the husband had to pay compensation to the divorced wife for her maintenance, (Storia, III, p. 1652).

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46. Abul Fazl (Ain, III J and S-, p. 339) holds that divorce was not customary among the Brahmans. Manúcci refers to its prevalence among Shudras and other low castes and he says that as soon as the marriage was broken off both the parties were free to remarry. He further writes, "But this practice is not known anywhere in the Brahman or Rājāh caste, nor those of the shopkeepers." In these castes, if the wife was divorced,she could not remarry herself. (Storia, III, p. 70).

A STUDY OF THE MOVEMENTS OF SHAHAJI (SHIWAJI'S FATHER) DURING THE PERIOD OF 1624—30

By

Mr. R. V. Outurkar.

The writer of this paper was inclined to take up this subject as he felt it might possibly help to corroborate or raise some doubts about the new birth date of Shivaji which is 19-2-1630. Since Shivaji was born at Shivneri, his mother Jijabai must have been taken there by Shahji a few months earlier. During this period, Shahji like many other Maratha Sardars was constantly moving from one place to another, now serving Nizamshahi, then Adilshahi, then the Mughals and then back again Nizamshahi. If the sources tracing the history of this period were to throw some light on the movements of Shahaji, enabling us to ascertain when exactly Shahaji had gone or could reasonably go to Shivneri, it would be useful point strengthening or going against the new birth date of Shivaji. There is sufficient evidence, ofcourse coming from Marathi sources, noting that Shivaji was born at Shivaneri in 1630; but 1627 nas long been mentioned as a date that is conventionally accepted, stated as it has been in the well known Chitnis Bakhar. I propose here to attack the problem from the other end, Viz., tracing the movements of Shivaji's father Shahaji from all available sources and ascertaining when Shahaji could reasonably take his wife Jijabai to Shivneri. In this, as in many

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other branches, that doyen of Indian History Sir Jadunath Sarkar has done much pioneering work. In his 'House of Shivaji' (Third edition) he has traced the 'Early Life of Shahji' (1608-1639) in one article (pp. 26-47) but depending as he does entirely on Persian sources, he has been led to make statements which, in my humble opinion, need to be modified.

Sir Jadunath states that Shahaji must have been a petty chieftain during the regency of Malik Amber and that he first rose to independent and high command under Fath Khan (Amber's Son) who wa evidently his first patron. This statement requires modification. In a letter of 28-7-1625 published in Rajwade Vol. XV (No. 398) Shahaji is writing as a Sar Lashkar to his Karkun at Poona. Now the title Sar Lashkar indicates not petty chieftainship, but a military position of a fairly high rank. Sir Jadunath further bases his argument on the fact that 'Shahaji's name is not mentioned even once in the autobiography of Jahangir and the other Persian histories of the Mughal wars in the Deccan during that monarch's reign though many other Maratha chiftains are noticed.' Now this is rather weak line of argument. Persian historians were not concerned in giving an exhaustive list of Maratha Sardars nor with the details of Shahaji's life. Very often capable young men are overshadowed by seniors. Shahaji was just rising to prominence. Further Sir Jadunath says that Fuzuni Astrabadi the Bijapur historian is silent about him in the body of his book 'Fatuhat-i-Adil Shahi' though some one has added the word 'Shahaji' in the margin of the British Museum Mss. of this work in relating the battle of Bhatawadi (1624). (Ibid page 27). This statement again appears to be somewhat of a slip for actually Shahaji's name has been mentioned by Fuzuni Astrabadi in his manuscript (Folio 288b) as one can see from another article written by Sir Jadunath in the same book on page 19; Fuzuni however has committed a mistake in coupling Shahaji along with his father-in-law Jadhav Rao, in joining the Mughals. Shahaji was not on the side of the Mughals, but on the side of Malik Ambar in the battle of Bhatawadi. This is proved by the fact that Jadharao left Nizamshahi early in 1621 on account of the quarrel that had taken place between Jadhav & Bhonsle families, in which Shahaji went against Jadhavrao,

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On the evidence of Shiv Bharat we see that Shahaji fought against the Mughals and even probably against his father-in-law in the battle of Bhatwadi.

Things however changed after that battle. There was schism in the Bhonsle family itself and as a sequel to some quarrel between Kheloji Bhonsle and Shahaji Bhonsle, Shahaji joined Adil Shah i.e., Ibrahim Adil Shah some time in 1625. This is proved, firstly by the Tanjore Brihadeshwar inscription, secondly by a letter written by Shivaji and addressed to Maloj Ghorpade in which he has traced the family history and referred to the movement of his father, and thridly by reference to it made in Shiv Bharat. But the most important evidence is of the contemporary letter of 10-1-1626 in which Ibrahim Adil Shah in a letter to his Karkun at Panhala refers to a petition submitted to him by Shahaji Sar Lashkar.

For neary two years and a half i.e., till the death of Ibrahim Adil Shah in September, 1627. Shahaji remained in Adil Shahi. Affairs in Adil Shahi took a different turn after his death. Ibrahim was tolerant towards Hindus and looked at Nizamshahi as a buffer state shielding Bijapur from the attacks of the Mughals; but after his death forces of intolerance towards Hindus and advocating the alliance with the Mughals to destory Nizamshahi grew strong. Shahaji, therefore, decided to quit Adil Shahi and join the services of Nizamshahi, under Fatah Khan, soon after the death of Ibrahim Adil Shah i.e. towards the end of the year 1627. During this period of two years Shahaji had occasionally fought with the Nizamshahi forces, but this was largely to the south of Poona. He had never to fight with the Mughals during this period, as they were largely preoccupied with their own trouble, the rebellion of Khurram, that of Mahabat Khan, subsequent accession of Shah Jahan to the throne and the rebellion of Khan Jahan Lodi. There was no serious clash between the Mughal and the Deccani forces during the years 1626 and 1627. Shahaji having a stable position in Bijapur was more likley to found a safe place somewhere on the Southern side for the prospective delivery of his wife at that time. He need not have to go out of the way towards Shivneri for the purpose. On the other hand during the stormy period of 1628-30 Shahaji had constantly fought with the Mughals.

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In fact he was being attachked both by the Adil Shahi forces under Murar Jagdev and the Mughal forces under Darya Khan. Shahaji's movements were largely round Poona and in the nothern part of the present Poona district during that period. He was called upon to proceed against Daryakkhan, Before he could proceed to do so, he brought about the marriage of his elder son Sambhaji with the daughter of Vijayaraj of Junnar and placed his wife Jijabai under his protection, where soon she give birth to Shivaji.

My submission in this paper is that considering Shahaji's movements between 1625-27 and 1629-30, Shahaji had no reason to go to Shivneri during the earlier period as he was under the service of Adil Shah at that time., but during the second period he had constantly to move in and round Poona and its north to meet the Mughal forces, and Shivneri was in the orbit of his movement during this period. This study of the movements of Shahaji between 1624-30 points, if anything, to Shahaji being near Shivaneri in 1629 than in 1626. It is of course not impossible that Shahaji could go to Shivneri between 1625-27, but such a movement is more or less out of the way and is unsupported by any contemporary source, Marathi, Sanskrit or Persian. On the other hand Shahaji's movements round Shivneri during 1629-30 are supported by sources both Sanskrit and Persian, Sanskrit Shivbharat and Persian Padshanama.

CHANDRA BHĀN BRĀHMIN

The Hindu Munshi of the Moghal Court.

BY

Mr. Hira Lall Chopra.

In fact the Indo-Iranian relations. date back to B. C. 500. Darius first conquered Sindh and this province of India was governed by Iranian kings upto B. C. 325. Later on in 711-12 A. D. Mohammad bin Qasim invaded India and there was Arab rule in Sind for three succeeding centuries. According to Ibn Hawqal in

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Saffārid period people of Multan and Mansūra used to speak Arabic and Sindhi and of Mukrān Persian.

In 329 A. H. the famous Persian poetess Rāb'ia bint-i-Kā'b was born in Qusdār or Quzdār (1), the capital of Tūrān, now known as Baluchistan. She was a first-rate Persian poetess and a contemporary of the great classical poet Rūdakī (2). It appears that during her life-time, Persian was well in vogue in that part of India and Hindus living there must also have been influenced by this language.

India became a regular arena of Islamic conquests from Ghaznavid period. From Sultan Mahmūd to Akbar the great, for about 600 years, no regular attention was paid to encourage the Hindus to learn Persian; but there are evidences that Hindus held positions of eminence in Ghaznavid army and administration. According to Farishta (3), Ghazni appeared to be a part of India. Baihaqi, in his famous history, gives details of many Hindu contingents of the army and their Hindu commanders. Badāyonī also mentions one Hindu general Sundar by name, who commanded a battalion under Ghaznavids, but the name of Tilak bin Jai Sen barber, deserves a special mention, who was a private secretary to Hasan Maimandī and who knew both Persian and Hindi and was an excellent scribe. Sultan Masūd promoted him to the rank of a commandant of the Indian Army. Baihaqī (4) writes that Tilak used to do his duties of a scribe and an interpreter excellently, and it is conjectured that he must be having a mastery over the Persian language to be able to deserve this epithet.

Since the establishment of Ghaznavid capital in Lahore, this city became an important centre of learning. Mas'ūd Sā'd Salmān, the first notable Indian poet of the Persian language, was born in Lahore and often writes about Lahore and Jullundur. He had a Hindi *diwan* to his credit as Awfi (5) says :

"He wrote three diwans, one in Arabic, one in Persian and a third in Hindi."

Amir Khusrow (6) also testifies to his having three *diwans* in three above-mentioned languages. His father, Khwaja Sa'd Salmān remained here in India for 60 long years and Mas'ud was born in

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Lahore. He was attached to the administration of Jullundur and Qusdār.

After Ghaznavids, Lodi rule proved very fertile. Many Hindus started learning Persian during this period. Kāyasthās were the first and foremost in this venture; but there were other Hindus also who had acquired good deal of proficiency in Persian. Badāyonī(7) mentions one Pandit Dongar Mal Brāhmin and quotes the following verse from him :

"My heart would never have bled, if your eye were not turned into a dagger. My path would never have been lost, had your tresses not been dishevelled."

Ibn-i-Baṭṭūṭa mentions in his travels that he witnessed a *sati* being performed, where a Hindu widow standing close to the burning pyre of her husband uttered the following sentences :

"You terrify me from fire, I know it is fire, leave me alone." These sentences occur in Persian in Ibn-i-Baṭṭūṭa's Arabic narration, which leads us to believe that Persian was not only understood but also spoken and not by men alone, but by Hindu women also.

It was in the Lodi period that Hindus were appointed on high government posts and the appointment of Guru Nānak on one such post is an example. Guru Nānak acquired a good working knowledge of Persian aud he is supposed to have undertaken a journey of Iran, Iraq and other Middle Eastern countries. There exist quite an appreciable number of Persian words in his Hindi compositions.

In the beautiful valley of Kashmir, under the patronage of Sultan Zainul Ābdīn (coronation 1420 A:D.) there were Hindus and Muslim scholars always crowding his court,[8] and since then we find Kashmiri Pandits upholding the propagation of the Persian language.[9] Zainul Ābdīn was particularly kind to pandits and the first community to learn Persian, was that of Saprūs, to which belong two famous Indian geniuses, the Right Hon'ble. Dr. Sir Tej Bahadur Sapru, the great jurist and Dr. Sir Mohammad Iqbal, the famous poet and philosopher. The word Sapru is composed of two syllables, SAP+PARO which means *sabaq paro* i.e. "learn the lesson of Persian". According to Farishta, one Bodī Butt, a Kashmiri knew the whole of Shahnama by heart and he had translated it in Hindi also.

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Then we come to the Moghal period, the golden age for the propagation of Persian and Urdu in India. Akbar the great in the most shining star in this firmament and we find Persian language and literature being adopted and developed simultaneously not only by Muslims but by Hindus as well. Todar Mull introduced the first reform in 990 A. H. to keep all accounts and office records in Persian. He knew that without acquiring adequate knowledge of Persian, people of his own community could not enter into high government offices and it was a step very wise in practical politics to to the advantage of the Hindus progressing side by side with their Muslim brethren in poetry, painting, fine arts, calligraphy, music and administration. Mirza Manohar Tawsani, son of Lun Karan, Raja of Sambhar, was a great Persian poet. Badayoni[10] mentions some of his Persian verses which bespeak of Tawsani's mastery over the language:

"The shaikh is indifferent from religion and Brahmin proud of infidelity, one intoxicated with the beauty of the beloved is indiffent both from religion and infidelity."

His devotion to Akbar is evident from the following ghazal quoted by Badayuni:—

"O drinker of syrup, do not come to our assembly of dreg-quaffers, we have our livers roasted as kababs in hand and heart-blood in cups as wine.

In love to divulge any secret of heart and soul is a slur on chivalry, Heart is only frozen blood and soul is the wind of the storm. Tawsani, you have taken your steed of love in love's playground, You'll reach your destination safely as you have Akbar as your guide." The author of Maath-rul umara[11] also mentions a beautiful verse of Tawsani:—

"To remain one and identical, learn it from the eye. Both the eyes are separate, yet they do not see separately."

Jahangir was very fond of Hindu festivals and he held a durbar on Dīwālī day and celebrated Rākhī and Shivarātrī. He gave an elephant to a Hindu poet, who recited a qasida in his praise. When he sent Khan Alam as his envoy to Iran, along with him was sent Bishan Das, the famous painter of

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Jahangir's time so as to get a picture of Shah 'Abbas.

In the times of Shah Jahan, besides the construction of the Tāj and Shālīmār Gardens, schools and colleges were established in abundance. His was the most peaceful period in Mughal history. His eldest son Dārā Shikūh was an ardent admirer of Hindu Philosophy and he translated 52 Upanishads. Yoga Vasishtha and Gītā in persian and wrote a wonderful treatise Majma'ul Bahrain on similarity in Hinduism and Islam.[12]

On such a background came the meteoric personality of Munshi Chandra Bhān Brāhmin, whose ancestors are said to have come from Kashmir.[13] His father, Dharam Das was a resident of Lahore. The author of Tazkira-i-Hussaini says that Dharam Das originally belonged to Akbarābad the venue of the Indian History Congress this year and Chandra Bhān was born in Lahore. Chandra Bhān got his early education from Mulla Abdul Hakim of Siālkot, as is often alluded to in his *Chahār Chaman*. He was first employed by Amīr Abdul Karīm, Officer-in-charge for constructions at Lahore. His brother Ude Bhān was employed in the office of Āqil Khan, the *nāzim* of Shāhjahānābād and Chandra Bhān had occasions to meet Shah Jahan there, who often called him affectionately as "Hindū-i-Fārsī dān" (Persian-knowing Hindu). He left the service of Amir 'Abdul Karīm and joined Afzal Khān, the minister; but he lost a great patron in the death of Afzal Khān in 1048 A. H. Then he joined the government service as a scribe, so as to help ministers and high officials in drafting official communications. He was one of the foremost Persian scholars amongst the Hindus. He occupied very trusted positions and filled up posts of Mīr Sāmān, Dīwān-i-kul and Wāqia Nawīs. He was for some time in charge of the drafts of *Farmāns* and was thus actually in the know of details of the Mughal Court of his time. Prince Dārā Shikuh, the heir-apparent of Shah Jahan, got a fancy for Chandra Bhān's style and throughout Dara's life, Chandra Bhan was his special scribe. After Dara's death, he led a life of retirement and died in Banaras in 1073 A. H. (1662 A. D.).

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Brahmin's writings

This Brahmin has wtitten a number of books In prose and poetry which are enumerated as under:

1. Munsh'āt-i-Brāhmin.
2. Chāhār Chaman.
3. Guldasta.
4. Tuhfat-ul-Anwār.
5. Nigār Nāmeh.
6. Tuhfat-ul-Fusahā.
7. Majma-ul-Wuzarā.
8. Nādir-un-Nukāt, Śuāl-o-Jawāb with Bābā Lāll about Hindu Yoga.
9. Majma-ul-Fuqarā and
10. Dīwān.

Out of the above, Munsh'āt Chahār Chaman and Diwān are most famous. He was a great calligraphist of *shikasta* writing and his name is mentioned in Tazkira-i-Khush Nawīsān.

Very well read in Hinduism and Islam, he was a great Sufi. Firm on his own faith, he had a reverence for every other faith in general and Islam in particular. He was a man of feelings and it is said that his eyes were ever wet with tears. Dārā Shikuh appreciated his angle of vision and his attitude towards the philosophy of religion. The prince appreciated the following verse occuring in one of his ghazals:

"I have a heart so intimate with infidelity that frequently
I took it to Kaābā and on return found it to be a Brāhmin again."

Dārā recited it before Shah Jahan who, at the moment, was sitting distracted. On hearing this verse, the king became restless at the audacity of an infidel declaring his so firm a conviction in his own religious tenets, but Afzāl Khan pacified him by quoting the following verse from Saadi:

"Christ's donkey, if he goes to Mecca,
When comes back, still remains a donkey."[14]

Munsha, Āt—I—Brāhmin: This is a collection of Chandra Bhan's letters which he wrote to Shah Jahan, some of the ministers, his own contemporaries and relatives from time to time. Most of them are

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letters of recommendation for some Hindus and a few Muslims. There are some letters to his brothers, his father and to his only son, Rai Tej Bhan.

These letters have little historical value, but they are good specimens of racy Persian style. Simple yet dignified style, it is in imitation of Abul Fazl, but shorn of its bombastic and ornate element The manner of addressing is unconventionally simple yet brimming with sincerity, devotion and affection.

Chahār Chaman: This is also a collection of Brahmin's letters to certain dignitaries and to his only son, Khwaja Tej Bhan. It can safely be called the Akbar Nāmah of Shāh Jahān's reign. The first and the fourth chapters are important. The former deals with the daily life of Shāh Jahān and the latter with moral and religious regulations. This book mentions the personal aspeet of Shāh Jahān's reign, so far as his *Farmāns* relating to Hindus are concerned. In 1795, a part of this work was published in Gladwin's *Munshee* under the title of *Qowāyid-us-Saltanat-i-Shāh Jahān.* The style is exquisite and is intersperesd with quotations from classical poets and writers as also with his own beautiful ghazals numbering about fifty, culled from his *diwan.* letters to his son show a didactic trend and in one of his letters, he enumerates all the books and writers that his son should read to bring his knowledge up to date.

Guldasta: In this work the daily life of Shāh Jahān is deseribed. It contains details of the festivities of the court, Dīwālī and Īd celebrations, Jharokā-i-Darshan, Chahār Taslīm (four salutations) Ghusal Khana (bath-room manners), among other things. It can be regarded as a supplementary volume of *chahār chaman.*[1]

Dīwān: As a matter of fact Chandra Bhan Brahmin is the best Hindu poet in Persian. Facile, simple yet forceful and sweet language employed by Brahmin takes him to vie with the foremost poets of his time. Sā'ib, one of the most celebrated Persian poets in India, noted down some of Brahmin's verses in his own note-book or *biyāz* and it is a sufficient appreciation for him. He is the first Hindu poet in the Persian language, who compiled his *dīwān* in his lifetime. His poetry is saturated with Islamic imagination. Various conditions of love, travails of attachment, stages of Sufism and

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problems of pantheism are to be found in his poetry exactly in the same way as they are to be seen in the compositions of the Muslim poets. Poems from his *dīwān* and other writings give an idea about Brahmin's place and position among the poets of Persian. It is said that he sent beautifully written copies of his *dīwān* to many scholars of Iran and Turan himself, fully confident of coming safely up to their standard. His *diwan* contains his ghazals, rubaiyat and some fragments wherein he sings praises of his king also.

"The lamp of the king's assembly was lit in such a way,
That with its lustre, glistened the eye of the sky."

It is also said that Brahmin was instrumental in arranging a meeting in December, 1653 between Dārā Shikuh, the ardent lover of mystics and mysticism and Bābā Lāll,
a great Hindu mystic and yogi [16] when the prince returned a dejected and disappointed man after the reverses he met in Qandahar expedition. The meeting went on for nine days and with two sittings a day at the house of Chandra Bhān in Naulakha, and the entire proceedings were conducted in Urdu and noted down in a copy book by Rai Jadhav Das. They were later translated into Persian by the Brāhmin, who acted as interpreter to both. A fine piece of literature, the seven MAKĀLMĀS bring Sufism much closer to Vedānta. The exposition of Bābā Lāll is classical and authenticated by his knowledge of the Hindu Shastras. This preliminary meeting and his devotion to the Muslim saint Mīān Mīr at Lahore[17] inspired Dārā to prosecute a study of Hindu system of philosophy and it ultimately prompted him to translate Upanishads, Gītā and Yoga Vāsishtha in Persian.

The death of Dārā Shikuh brought in its wake great prosecutions for his friends like Sermad and others, but Chandra Bhān was spared unscathed by Aurangzeb, who knew full well the views held by Brāhmin were quite in conformity with his Hindu faith and on the death of his father, Aurangzeb made sympathetic references to Brāhmin in the open durbar.

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1. Le Strange, Lands of the Estern Califate. pp. 331-333.
2. Dr. Mohd. Ishāque, Four Eminent Poetesses of Iran. p. 1.

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3. Tārīkh-i-Farishta. p. 28.
4. Baihaqī. p. 503.
5. 'Awfī. Labābul Albāb. Vol. II. p. 246.
6. Amīr Khusrow, preface to Gharratu Kamāl. p. 66.
7. Badāyūnī. Vol. II. p. 323.
8. Tabaqāt-i-Abarī. p. 603; Farishta. Vol. II. pp. 242-344 and Āīn-i-Akbarī. p. 583.
9. Details to be found in 2 big volumes of Bahār-i-Gulshan-i-Kashmīr, published by Indian Press, Allahabad.
10. Badāūnī. val III p. 201.
11. Maātharul umarā. vol. III. pp. 116-117.
12. Majmaul Bahrain. Edited by Mahfūzul Haq and published by Asiatic Society.
13. Bahār-i-Gulshan-i-Kashmīr. Vol. I.
14. Misrātul khyāl. P. 214.
15. See thc present writer's Chandra Bhan Brahmin pp. 3-5 (1956)
16. Bābā Lāll was a Khatri of Qasūr, born in Jahangir's time. He was a disciple of Chetan Swāmī. It is said that one day Chetan Swāmī begged of him some rice and fuel in alms, lighted a fire between his legs, and held with his feet a pot in which rice was being boiled. Seeing this miracle, Bābā Lāll prostrated himself before the saint and accepted him as his *guru* (spiritual guide). He received from his *guru* a grain of cooked rice, which when eaten revealed to him at once the mysteries of the whole universe. He followed Chetan Swāmī to Lahore, where on one day the saint, in order to test the progress of his disciple in yoga, ordered him to bring some *gopi-chandan* from Dwārkā in the Kathiāwād peninsula, several hundred miles away from Lahore. Bābā Lāll, it is said having completed the long journey returned with *gopi.chandan* from Dwārkā in less than an hour, whereupon his guru gave him leave to part from him and settle independently as a master. He took up his abode at Dhianpur. Here he built a hermitage for himself and began to initiate people in his own creed, which consisted in the worship of one God without

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form or any exterior cult. His system drew much from the Vedānta philosophy and Sufi-ism. His followers are known as Bābā Lāllīs. His seven discourses with Dārā are rendered into Persian by Chandra Bhan and published under the title, *Nadir-un-Nukat.*

17. Mīan Mīr, a great sufi saint of the Qadirī sect, was born in Sistan in 957 A. H. He came to India at the age of 25. Jahangir, Shahjahan and Darā Shikuh paid him many visits. The one outstanding fact about the catholicity of his vision is that he laid the foundation-stone of the famous Golden Temple of Amritsar, the foremost place of pilgrimage of the Sikhs at the request of the fourth of the Sikh *gurus*, Guru Ramdāss, in a place awarded to the Guru by Emperor Akbar for his literary and spiritual achievements and charitable disposition.

AJITODAYA AND GLIMPSES OF SOCIETY AND CULTURE IN RAJASTHĀN

By

Dr. G. N. Sharma

The manuscript of Ajitodaya belongs to the Pustak—Prakash, the library of his Highness of Jodhpur. It contains 32 cantos and is made up of 312 folios, each measuring about 10" x6" with eight lines and 26 letters each on average. It is in a fairly good state of preservation, though there are certain omissions of words here and there due to cracks in papers.

The language of the manuscript is Sanskrit. Except the colophon and the usual invocatory phrases the composition is entirely in verses. The types of verses are mostly *Anustup*, *Vanshastha*, *Indravajrā*, *Shārdulvikridit*, *Mālini* etc. The author seems to be particular for idiomatic expressions, similies and metaphors. By this he renders the work poor, affected and ungrammatical.

It is in a Nāgri script. As regards orthography the following

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points need special reference. '*kri*', and '*ka*'. '*Sha*' and '*Kha*', '*na*' and '*ta*', '*P*' and '*ya*', 'va' and 'pa' are almost similar in appearance. The forms of 'jha,' 'I' and 'ri' are quite peculiar. At places '*Halant*', '*m*' and 'Visarg' are absent.

As the colophon[1] indicates it was composed by Bhatt Jagajiwan, the Court poet of Maharaja Ajit Singh[2] of Mārwar.

In spite of certain short-comings from literary point of view, the MS. as preserved in the library at present is, of immense value to historians as an independent authority on the history of Mārwar in the first place and as a corroborative source in the second place. It, moreover, supplies graphic accounts of wars, treaties, conquests and political achievements of Maharaja Jaswant Singh in general and Maharaja Ajit Singh in particular.

I propose to give here a brief survey of the political events as preserved in this Kavya.

Though not strictly a history yet of much historical in the terest Kavya opens up with the account of the life of Maharaja Jaswant Singh and his appointment at Kabul. It further deals with Maharaja's death at Jamrud. Here the poet also gives an account of the destruction of temples and religious persecution of Auranzeb at Kabul Mathura and Vrindavan.[3] The death of Jaswant threw the Rathors into confusion and dismay, though his dominion of Mārwar in his absence was looked after by Kesri Singh. Hari Krishna Das, another confident officer of the Maharaja, who was with him,moved towards home-land with the party and reached Lahore. The two widowed Ranis gave birth to two sons, one of whom breathed his last in a few weeks' time, while the other, Ajīt Singh lived to hold the Gadi of Mārwar after a chequered career of war and conflicts.[4]

When the Maharajā's family reached Delhi and, when it was suspected that the royal infant would hardly be safe at the capital, a letter was sent by leading Rathor Chief with Shymaldas, who knew Persian, to Auranzeb's Court requesting him to send their infant ruler back to their state.[5]

Finding that all persuasion were invain before the greedy and bigoted emperor, the Rathor band managed the safe rescue of the prince by organizing raids, attacks and murderous conflicts. In these

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actions several heroes along with the two Ranis met their end of life in a glorious manner.[6]

The poet reserves canto 9th for paying homage to the valour of Durgadās who by his daring achievements saved the honour of the house of his master. It was he, according to the poet, who kept the cause of the Rajputs triumphant by offering all that he had at the altar of his motherland. It was he who fought against heavy odds and a host of enemies on every side amid the environment of distrust and suspicion.

Finding his stratagem backed against the Rajput valour the emperor appointed Tahawur Khan, the Foujdar of Ajmer, to meet the Rathor oppostion at several strategic points.[7]

Then Akbar was appointed to force his way to Mertā. The Rathor heroes met the tide of invasion by offering stubborn resistance at Nadol, Dindapur (Didwana), Godwad and Rohit.[8]

In order to face the tide of Muslim penetration into Mārwār there was created a Rathor-Sisodiyā alliance against Aurengzeb. Ajīt Singh was taken over to Mewār and offensive and defensive wars were maintained with full success. In Mārwār too the Rathor bands scored success through the maintainance of guerilla warfare. Canto 12 gives details of the reverses of Mughals the account of which has been supressed in Persian Works. The author further gives details of the activity of Akbar and difficulty that he had to face in Rajasthān.[9] The next Canto vividly describes the operation of Mirzā Muhammad and his utlimate failure due to the scoring success of the Rathors.[10]

Then the pressure of the war grew less intense due to Aurangzeb's attention towards Deccan and it finally subsided with the death of Aurangzeb. Ajīt started life in Jodhpur in the full vigour and began the career of forming matrimonial alliances with Jaisalmer, Bugadi and Udaipur. He led successful march towards Sojat, Ahmadnagar, Ajmer, Mertā, Gujrāt and Aurngābād.[11]

Thus Ajīt was successful in concentrating his power and resources to such an extent that he became a factor to be counted in Delhi politics. When Bahadur Shah settled his scores with his brothers and found his position weak in Rajasthān and Punjāb, he made terms with the Mahārajā.[12]

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During Farukhsiyar's emperorship Ajīt wielded great influence over the Sayyid brothers and after the emperor's death actively participated in Delhi politics during Mohammad Shah's (1719-1748)reign. He also exercised his influences over the ministry of Kutubmulk. He got for himself the Subedari of Ajmer and Gujrāt through Imperial Farman. It was he who turned the table of Rathor -Kachhwah rivalry and instituted his leadership in Rajasthan.[13]

The Kavya comes to an end with the death of Ajīt Singh and the accession of Abhaya Singh.[14]

Though an important work for the political history as seen above Ajitodaya stands unrivalled in the sphere of social and cultural history of Rajasthan. It furnishes mine of information regarding several custom, usages and traditions as prevalent during the period. As it has not yet received the attention it deserves from the student of social history,[15] a brief review of Socio-Religious value of the work is attempted.

From the accounts found in the Kavya we may reasonably construct a reliable account of social structure, civic life and certain customs and usages as found in mediaeval Rājasthān. The poet gives us an idea of social harmony during the period. People of different sects and communities lived in peace, unity and amity. *Varnashram* system of old was respected (Canto I Verse 7). The ruler worshipped Vishnu, Shiva and Krishna. Ascetic sects of *Sanyasis*, *Yatis* etc. were respected and fed. A tolerant policy honouring all sects and religions and bestowing his charities to all was followed. He had a faith in *hom*, *dan* and *yagya*. Pilgrim places such as Pushkar, Vrindaban, Dwarkā were visited very often.[17]

The ceremony of *Jātkaram* was observed at the occasion of the birth of a son. Feast was provided to Brahmins and cows were offered to them at such occasion.[18] *Tulādān* and *Shrādha* are other religious rites which were observed by the Mahārajā.

The author also gives us a clear insight into the Rājasthān customs as observed during marriage ceremony. In relation with the account of marriage of Ajit Singh with the daughter of the Mahārānā the poet draws our attention to the ceremony of *Ganeshsthapan*.[19] Then follows *Punyavāchan*[20] by Brahmins and the *Rakshā Bandhan*[21] to bride and bridegroom. *Matrikā Pujan*[22] is the next important

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ceremony referred to when family deity is worshipped.

In describing Suraj Kunwar's marriage with the ruler of Jaipur the poet points out the position of the bride and bridegroom who sat side by side, both gailly decorated. There is the description of sacred fire and recital of Mantrās and performance of *Gathbandhan*[23] and *Saptapadi*. At this occasion the *Barāt* party was provided feasts for several days. The marriage festivities which lasted on the seventh day concluded with the offer of rich robes, ornaments, utensils of silver. Singing of songs by ladies and adoring Brahmin ladies and cutting of jokes with the guests are also some of the interesting objects with the marriage ceremony.[26]

In recording the death ceremony our poet is also very particular in giving details. When Ajīt Singh died, he says that the dead body was washed, perfumed and decked with wreaths of flowers. The death created sight of clamour, wailing and beating of breast. Then the dead body was taken in procession in 'dole.'[27] Those who were carrying the body were repeatedly uttering the name of God-*Narayan*, *Har* etc. Others who were following it recounted the good deeds of the Mahārājā with their eyes full of tears.

Then the dead body was again washed in Nāgdi river and then put over pyre.

Related with this account the poet proceeds on with the description of Sati system, the established custom of these days. Chandrāvati, the daughter of Chandra committed Sati when the news of Jaswant Singh's death reached Jodhpur. As soon as the news reached her, she took her dip in sacred water, applied perfumes over her body and decked herself in choicest dress and ornaments. Before starting for the place of performance of Sati she gave alms to poor and diffused charity among Brahmans. Cows, gold, silver, horses and elephants were offered to Brahmins. She was taken then to Mandor where she got herself in *Kastagrah*. She took her seat over the *Asan* in *Padmasan* posture and consumed herself to death along with other maid-servants. She took the pillow of her husband in her lap in absence of the dead body.[28]

Similar rites of Sati were observed by Jaisalmeri princes at the occasion of Ajīt's death.[29]

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These descriptions go to explain the heroism of Rajput ladies who were ever ready to embrace death in hope of meeting their husband in another world. These accounts also help us to understand the spiritual significance of Sati, when in the performance of the rites them ystic symbolism is never given up.

The poet also affords us an opportunity to study town planning of those days. The town of Jodhpur was surrounded by city wall and its main road was connected with narrow lanes. There were several shops which were spacious. On important occasions main roads and lanes were sprinkled with perfurmed water and *shops were white washed.*[30]

Tne description of the garden of Mandor is very interesting where the description of conventional trees of *Asok* and *Kadamb* is followed by the description of fruit trees and creepers of flowers of different kinds. The layout of the garden itself shows that attention, partly under Mughal influence, had been given to garden planning.[31]

The poet also refers to certain relief measures adopted by Ajit Singh at the time of famine. He als gives the account of several important officials as *Mantri*, *Bhāndāgārik*, *Senāpati*, *Dwārpāla* eyc.

The Ms. also throws light on the method of greeting guests of position. When Ajit Singh went to Mertā he was taken over the main sitting room where his legs were washed, meals were served and betel leaf with camphor was presented.[34]

The MS. ends with the description of the accession of Abhaya Singh. In brief it is a detailed manual on the political, administrative and socio-religious history of the period. Its importance lies in the fact that it throws light on many topics on which the Muslim historians are either silent or throw faint light. Its study is not only important for the study of local history or the history of Rājasthān, but also useful for the general course of Indian History.

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1. इति श्री मदजितोदय महाकाव्ये भट्ट जगजीवति कृतेऽ भयनृपोद्धरों नाम द्वात्रिशत्तय सर्गः ।। समाप्तोयम् । शुभं भूपात् ।
2. His period was from 1679-1724 A. D.
3. Canto 2, VV-1-36.

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4. Cantos, 4-6 Ishardass, 73b. Tod, Ch, 6 & 7
5. Canto, 5th.
6. Canto 6th-7th.
   Sir J. N. Sarkar maintains that the Ranis escaped in men's attire and rode for Mārwār, vide his Auranzeb, III, p. 333. Maasir-i-Alamgiri, p. 178
7. Canto, 9th Maasir-i-Alamgiri, p. 172 Sarkar, III, p, 335.
8. Canto, 10. Sarkar, III, p. 335
9. Canto 13th Sarkar, III, 337, 334.
10. Canto 15th it is headed 'मिर्जा महमदअली प्रणाशो'
11. Canto 15 and 16th Canto 17, 19, 20, 22 and 25, Adab, Nos. 721 and 748 (Sarkar).
12. Canto 17.
    Shah Alam's Farman dated 19th May 1710 and 27th May 1710 (Old Deposited Records, Jodhpur).
13. Canto 21, 26 and 27. Muntahhab-ul-lubab, Vol. II, p. 25, 829, 833 Later Mughals, Vol. I, pp. 422-430, 431 Later Mughals Vol. I, 4, 218
14. Canto, 31-32.
15. Pt. Reu in his History of Mārwār has ably made use of the Kavya to trace certain political events of the period.
16. Canto 18, V. 102.
17. Canto 23, V. 45. Canto 20, V. 35, 36. Canto 28, V. 39.
18. Canto, 5, V. 5.
19. He is the deity regarded as the remover of obstacles and hence worshipped prior to the beginning of the ceremony for the smooth progress of the whole function.
20. It is the chanting of sacred verses.
21. In Rājāsthan it is termed as '*Tilokadan.*'
22. Canto 15, vv 36 41).
23. It is the fastening of two ends of linen with the ends of the clothes of bridge and bridegroom.
24. It is one of the Vedic rites performed over seven heaps of corn by bride and bridegroom.
25. Now a days it never exceeds more than three days.
26. Canto, 15, V. 39. Canto, 23, V. 15-20,

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27. Ordinary dead bodies are generally taken over stretcher of bamboos, while that of royal person and *Sanyasis* over *dole* in sitting posture.
28. Canto 4, V. 29-34, Canto 5-VV, 1-9.
29. Canto 32, VV. 2-10,
30. Canto, 18, V. 102, Canto 15, V. 37.
31. Canto 19.
32. Canto 18-V. 17.
33. Canto 18 V. 102.
34. Canto 19-V. 47-48.

THE ENGLISH FACTORY AT HOOGHLY (1651-1690)

By

Mr. Bimala Prasad Mukherji.

Nearly twenty five miles to the north of the city and within the zone of Greater Calcutta, Hooghly today is neither an old-world town retaining a quaint medieval charm nor exactly a modern settlement. It is a sort of half way house between the 16th and 20th centuries. At places it looks no better than a straggling village with narrow winding lanes, ill-kept orchards and dusty open spaces; at others its busy roads and modern quarters indifferently hide the crumbling walls and dilapidated houses. Yet it is attractive in a way, thanks to its splendid water-front whose morning freshness and evening glory have not been successfully spoilt by ugly stacks on either bank. Hooghly has lent its name to the mighty stream that has reared not only an oceanic commerce but a fine old provincial culture, native on the whole, but not refusing the first contacts with the West. Sanskrit Tols, the Imambara, the old EnglishCollege and the presence of a large Bengali mercantile community explain the composite pattern of life, peculiar to the town's historical growth. There is hardly anything in the town to delight an antiquarian. One does not find hungry stones of old ruins petrified in romantic agony.

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Whatever old there is hardly goes behind 1800. The river has receded leaving the Chandney Ghat dry and bare. Only a few samples of colonial architecture survive. Yet at Hooghly, one can have the luxury of a dip in the past that brings up occassional memories of the Renaissance days when buccaneers and tough traders scoured the Eastern seas.

For an early account of the European settlements round about Hooghly, particularly of the English, there is no paucity of material. There are primary sources like Bruton's Voyage, Diary of Hedges, the Agent in Bengal, Bengal Public Consultation Books, Governor Pitt's correspondence, and Reports and Letters concerning the Company's Affairs in Bengal from 1661 to 1685. In addition we have the informative works of Bruce snd Stewart, the East India Gazetteer by Hamilton 'Bengal, its chiefs, agents and Governor's by Danvers and the Gazetteer of Thornton, the Company's notable historiographer. All these early English accounts of Bengal have been well utilised by Wilson whose 'Early Annals of the English in Bengal' was published in 1895.

From all accounts it is clear that Hooghly is an old town contiguous to Chinsura and then, even as now, Chandernagar, Chinsura and Hooghly ran into each other. The town is conjectured to have been founded by the Portuguese in 1537, as Thornton says.[1] Hamilton also describes Hooghly[2] as an ancient town in the province of Bengal which 'during the Moghul government was a town of importance being the bunder or port of the western arm of the Ganjes where the duties on merchandise were collected. The Portuguese, the Dutch, the Danes and the French had each a factory here and were later permitted to possess settlements of their own, all within a ten-mile limit along the river. Abu Fazl, writing 1582, has noted that 'there are two emporiums, a mile distant from each other, one called Satgong, the other Hooghly with its dependencies, both of which are in the possession of Europeans'. It is curious that Faria DeSouza does not mention the name of Hooghly, he calls it Golin.

According to legend, the English factory at Hooghly was founded in 1640, that at Balasor in 1642. Hamilton writes, 'The Dutch in 1625

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annd the English in 1640 were permitted to build factories in this place." [But this is obviously incorrect, as Wilson shows in his Early Annals of the English in Bengal. Bruton's account of the happenings at the Court of Malcandy and of the origin of the English factories at Balasor and Hariharpur leaves no room for doubt that Cartwright founded the settlement at Balasore nine years earlier, while the letter of [Francis Day, one of the Council of Masulipatam, pleading for its retention after so much trouble and expense, is corroborative enough. It was Bridgeman and Stephens who established the Hooghly factory in 1651 and gave a new impetus to the Company's trade. In 1641, however, Bengal had appeared to be of little consequence and debts were ordered to be paid off and the factors brought away. But it was Day's intervention with an eye of future interest that reversed this policy of withdrawal. Though the English at the time did not think much of the future of 'Bengal Hooghly ultimately became the chief station in the Bay with agencies at Balasor, Patna, Cossimbazar and Rajmahal.

Hooghly, therefore, has a special importance, for it is here that the English came from Balasor, marking the first step of British advance into Bengal. Trade in the Coromandel coast having suffered from famines and desultory wars among local princes, the English with excellent intentions of doing business moved up to Hooghly, relying on the good will and protection of the native government. Prospects were rather encouraging. The Portuguese had been dislodged from Hooghly in 1632 by the Mughals after a prolonged siege ending in massacre and the capture and destruction of vessels. European trade at Hoghly was then greatly restricted and subjected to continual exactions and in 1632 the first serious quarrel occurred. A strong army of the Mughals besieged Hooghly for three and a half months. The Portuguese made many offers of submission and agreed to pay a tribute. But these were rejected by the Mughals who carried the place by assault. Many attempting to escape were drowned; a few reached their ships in safety. In the words of Hamilton, 'the Captain of the largest ship on board of which were embarked 2000 men, women and children with all their wealth' scuttled his vessel. 'Out of 64 large ships, 57 grabs and 200 sloops anchored opposite to the

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town, only one grab and two sloops got away.' Thornten gives practically the same version with slight variations. After an obstinate defence of three months, Hooghly was stormed in 1632 by Shahjehan's troops. 1000 Portuguese were slaughtered, 4400 taken prisoners while 64 large vessels and 254 of smaller dimensions were burnt only three escaping off to Goa. At any rate, this was the first major action by the Mughals against the Europeans in Bengal. The expulsion of the Portuguese from Hooghly, then from Hijili and the consequent ruin of Pipli offered a golden chance to the English to develop their trade in the Bay. But there were practical difficulties. The rivalry of Dutch traders and oppression of Golconda officers, the absence of qualified factors and writers and of suitable vessels for navigating the Hooghly hampered the project of expansion. Yet the English did well to proceed to the head of the Bay and advance from Balasor to Hooghly. It was from Bengal that the Company's rule in India began.

In the instructions drawn up by Captain Brookhaven who sent up Bridgeman to 'Hukely' as chief with Stephens as his second, we find the names of two assistants, Blake and Tayler with a salary of lb 5 or lb 6 a year and of Narayan, the Company's broker on the Bengal establishment, whose services were to be retained in spite of accusations made against him. Among other directions were to follow the Dutch, to get a grant of firman and to avoid expenditure and quarrel with the authorities. The governors of Balasor and Hooghly in particular were to be cultivated and land was to be secured for building necessary houses for the Company. In other words, the Dutch had to be out-stripped in point of privilege and freedom of trade and the Company's interests to be furthered with care and caution. These were the ideas when the new factory at Hooghly was established in 1651. One year later, the English for a sum of Rs. 3000/- only had succeeded in securing letters patent granting them exemption from payment of customs or dues. Thus between 1658 and 1661, the English organised the Hooghly Agency with considerable foresight. They had to. Ousted by the Dutch from the Spice Islands, they had come to the Indian coast and then moved up to the Bay. The headquarters of their trade had now been transferred to Hooghly.

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But the position was not favourable, rather embarrassing. Hooghly was not an ideal place for sustained operations in commerce or in war. It was about a hundred miles off from the sea, quite an inland town, situated on a difficult river. Besides, the English were sandwiched between the Portuguese, not yet fully exhausted, and the Dutch at Chinsura. The presence of rivals and possible enemies, both native and European, increased risks. Hence when the Madras Council was thinking of withdrawing from Bengal, as the profits of the Company's trade were more than counter-balanced by the large payments which the Bengal factors had to make for securing exemption from customs duties, the Company of Merchant Adventurers was amalgamated with the original Company. Benefit to the Company's invest ments was the first concern rather than benefit to private trade. So the Charter was renewed and Cromwell was petitioned to protect the English settlements against the depredations of the Dutch. Bridgeman and Blake had acted irregularly and deserted the Company's service without any explanation. Waldegrave on his way to Madras had conveniently lost valuable papers and accounts. Hence a Commission was appointed to enquire into the corrupt practices of the Company's servants and to check private traders and interlopers. The Republic had to nurse colonialism, a child of uncertain life.

Hooghly now became the chief agency in Bengal,[3] a new and enlarged establishment where a small English Society for the first time grew up. But these were not easy times. English trade began to be hampered by the vexatious exactions of local rulers. Though Bengal was a rich province where raw silk was abundant, saltpetre, cheap and of the best quality, and English trade showed every sign of expanding, political conditions were fast becoming insecure. The central government was weakening, its promises and good will were being nullified by fratricidal wars (1657) among the sons of Shah Jehan and the arbitrary actions of subordinate officials. George Gawton was appointed Chief Agent at this time at Hooghly with Halstead, Ragdale and Davies as members of his council. Hopkins, Kenn and Chamberlain were the respective agents at Balasore, Cossimbazar and Patna. Job Charnock was the fourth man at Cossimbazar.[4] But Gawton failing, Trevisa succeeded to the Hooghly

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agency. The native governors of Hooghly and Balasor began to insist on annual payment of custom duties and heavy charges for anchorage. At Rajmahal, the English boats carrying saltpetre from Patna were detained by Mir Jumla. The factory at Hooghly was threatened and Trevisa had to apologise to Mir Jumla, under instructions from Madras, for the seizure of a native vessel. The Mughal viceroy, however, went on levying the annual sum of three thousand rupees.[5]

The position somewhat improved when Aurangzeb made the first grant to the English in 1667 and Shyesta Khan, the next Viceroy, freed English trade of all dues except the annual tribute. The English meanwhile has learnt by experiences that they must protect themselves by force if their commercial expansion was to survive the military threats. Thus they took up a position directly the reverse of policy of timid advance under the native government's protection. Trade in Bengal now began to develop and the valuation of stocks went on increasing up to 1675, from 34,000 to 65,000[6]. Dacca, noted for its fine muslins and woven stuffs, became a new establishment in 1668. Good and cheap saltpetre was brought down from Patna because of its large demand and dumped at Hooghly to be kept ready for frequent shipments. Skilled artisans were brought to Bengal to improve the quality of silk manufacture and the Pilot Service was inaugurated for the safe navigation of the Hooghly.

But once again in 1682-83 came danger and anxiety. Hedges, the first English governor of the Bengal establishment, failed to destroy the interlopers and to put an end to the exactions of native rulers. The dismissal of Hedges was followed by much wandering and fighting till the English found in Calcutta the place for their fortified trade-centre. In October 1686 took place the first English action fought in Bengal. As Hamilton puts it, 'the English became involved in hostilities by the imprudence of three soldiers who quarrelled in the bazar with the Nabob's peons.' The garrison was called out from the factory and sixty men in the Nabob's troops were killed while considerable number wounded. A battery of eleven guns was spiked and destroyed. At the same time, Captain Nicholson's fleet cannonaded the town and five hundred houses in Hooghly were burnt down,

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This was the famous skirmish at Gholghat. But the result was a disgraceful peace. The Mughal government had not yet lost its vigour and though an arrangement was made with the Foujdar, 'the Agent and the Council considering that Hooghly was an open town retired to Chutanuttee on the 20th December, 1686.[7] With the foundation of Culcutta in 1690, the English inproved their position and though Hooghly began to lose its importance in the 18th century, it was not wholly divested of its historic associations.

Of the chiefs and agents at Hooghly, we have a complete list up to 1685 and of the various articles of trade and commodities we have documented evidence. For example, Mr. Kenns, appointed chief at Cossimbazar in 1658, advised in 1661 that the best time to buy Wheat, Gunneys and Sugar at Hughly' was March and April; 'Butter, Ginghams, White Cloths and Flax' in July and August, and in December and January, Long Pepper, Oyle and Rice of the second growth.[8] The chief English exports from Bengal were of course salt-petre, silk and sugar. The months indicated above were the best for buying cheap and money was given at the time of purchase. The goods were then shipped in September, October and November. In a further account of Hooghly, Mr. Kenns writes that 'Hughly sugars' were to be brought at Chandracona and Tania. The price of each bale of sugar weighing 2 mds. 13 seers, was Rupees six to seven; that of Long Pepper Rupees four to five per maund, of Butter the same while the price of Oyle was '1¾ to 2 Rups.' Kenns also gives a list of Chiefs in 'Bengali' after mentioning the names of Cartwright, Joyce and Ward as 'Chiefs of Orissa' at Balasore. The Agents at Hooghly were thus successively Capt. Brukehaven, Bridgemen, Walgrave, Gawding (Gawton) and Billingsley, Treveza (Trevisa), Blake, Bridge, Clavill, Vincent, Agent Hedges (directly from the Company) and Agent Beard (subordinate to the Fort). There is no mention however, of Powell who was appointed by the Court to succeed Bridge. But then he probably never took office.

The diary of Streynsham Master who came twice to Bengal, a man of proved ability during the sack of Surat and now selected by the Company to introduce reforms and regularise administration,is perhaps the most authentic record of the social and economic life of

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Hooghly from 1676 to 1681. Enforcement of discipline and seniority in succession to office, linking up civil and military services with greater authority to the former, promotion of trade, creating an official hierarchy of the Company's servants from apprentices to writers and from writers to factors with correspondingly increasing salaries, and finally securing obedience of the outlying stations to Fort St. George were some of the terms of reference entrusted to the new Commissioner when he was sent out from England in 1676. Instructed to inspect all books and accounts, to find out the best methods of export and import, and also to enquire into the business of Raghu Podar who was beaten to death by the house broker of Cossimbazar, Streynsham Master did his job thoroughly, though a man strikingly young for such a responsible job. His dairy shows a precise and methodical mind with love for detail and gift of clear and pleasant narration. His presence, though it could not work wonders, brought some order and discipline into the English life in Bengal, not noted for its high moral tone and rather given to private grudge, sneakishness and money-making. Shayesta Khan once called the Englishmen in Bengal, not quite unjustifiably, 'a company of base, quarrelling people and foul dealers.'

Hooghly, as Master saw it, was a large but badly built town that stretched along the river-side for a couple of miles. To the north was Bander abandoned by the Portuguese; to the south was Chinsura, the Dutch settlement. The English factory was at Gholghat north of which was the market and a little further north stood the Mughal governor's house. But the Hooghly establishment, compared with the Surat house, was a poor sort of place to live in with small amenities and limited accommodation. The married servants of the Company had to live outside the factory while captains and pilots could not secure proper lodgings. Streynsham Master, with an eye to making the factory a compact unit, ordered its rebuilding and enlargement so that a kind of community life might develop. In the town, the Portuguese were numerous who served as hired soldiers. In the nighbourhood lived a large number of native weavers of cotton cloth and tasar silk.

Within the factory, the governing body consisted of the Agent,

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head of the Company's establishments in Bengal, the Accountant, the Store-keeper and thePurser Marine who was a kind of inspecting officer. Besides, there were the Secretary in charge of the official meetings and proceedings, the Chaplain, third in rank, the Surgeon and the Steward,sixth and eighth officers in order of precedence. The Agent was paid £ 100 a year;later in 1682, he received £ 300 including a hunderd-pound gratuity. Below the officers were merchants, factors, writers and apprentices. The Chaplain's salary was £ 100; that of the factor from £ 20 to £ 40 and of the writers, only £ 10 a year. Such salaries as were paid to the men were considerably supplemented by various allowances while the respective incomes gained not infrequently from private trade. The Chief had 30 or 40 native orderlies and a small guard of European soldier under a corporal.

The intermediary between the English and the local clientele was the Indian broker. He was the middle-man between the factory and the local producers and consumers and had to tour the country side to buy goods on the Company's behalf at the cheapest rates. He furnished a security and received a commission of three per cent on all sales and purchases, Sometimes the local merchants brought from and sold to the Company direct and received passes, exempting them from duties and freight charges.

Without special permission, nobody could stay outside the factory. Life within was more or less institutional. Working hours were from 9 to 12 in the morning and again in the afternoon till 4 0'clok, if it was shipping time and the pressure of work was heavy. Every servant of the Company had a right to free quarters and to dinner and supper at the public table where they had to sit in order of seniority. There was a plentiful supply of meat and other dishes prepared by Indian and European cooks. Silver jugs and washing bowls were used at the start and end of meals. 'Arrack punch and Shiraz wine' were the usual drinks but European liquers and bottled beer were considered luxuries. Sundays and holidays were celebrated in a festive fashion and everyone at the table drank the healths of King and Company. Tea was in common use at ordinary social meetings. After supper, the factory gates were closed at 9 o'clock.

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Among pleasures and recreations were shooting or hunting, excursions to the English garden a couple of miles to the north, bathing and walking. Between the English at Hooghly and the Dutch at Chinsura, there were occasional invitations and mutual entertainments. The Chief of the factory and his Second used palanquins; the rest of the Council with the Chaplain were served by attendants holding umbrellas. Ovington in 'Voyage' has given a description of one such procession in solemn state. Hedges has also noted in his Diary how the Chief and his wife, reclining in palan quins, went in procession to the garden, preceded by standard-bearers trumpet-men and Persian horses in rich trappings and followed by the other members of Council in coaches drawn by oxen, while a large body of orderlies in scarlet coats walked on foot.

The men dressed in European style of course, though English fashions took many years to infiltrate. A good cloth coat largely silver-laced was considered to be the badge of an Englishman. Great personages put on the ample wig when coming out, but those who cared for comfort cut their hair short. When away from the factory, they took their meals lying on carpets. They also wore Indian dress and married Indian wives for the simple reason of convenience and necessity. In those days of isolation, the English at Hooghly were naturally drawn to the local ways of living and acting. Discipline was rather lax in Bengal just as it was strong at Surat. Private quarrels for the sake of money and premature deaths due to gross intemperance were frequent occurence. Bernier, writing in 1666, noted the number of untimely deaths among the Europeans in Bengal and their habits of drinking bowl punch. Master noticed a punch-house within the Balasor factory while Pitt wrote in 1678, "There is a general complaint that we drink a damnable deal of wine." Rev. John Evans, the first Bengal Chaplain in 1678, and Elliot, the Chaplain of Streynsham Master in 1679, tried their best to improve the moral tone of English life in Bengal. But it is difficult to say how far the English at Hooghly, compelled to attend the Divine Service, sing liturgies and give up all unholy habits, did actually follow Christian order and observance.

Yet when all is said and done, the English factors with all their

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faults enjoyed a kind of reputation as sincere and manly people, at least some better than the corrupt, oppressive native officials. The Hindu merchants, at any rate, were on the whole faithful to the Company's interest. Though the Court in 1693 made a tall claim that "never any native of India lost penny debt by this Company from the time of the first institution thereof in Queen Elizabeth's days till this time," the English at Hooghly, mindful of their own interests and following the current economic notions and practices, were not after all very bad specimens as private persons or public dealers.

SAWAI JAI SINGH & BANGASH BUNDELA WAR.

By

Dr. Bhagwan Das Gupta.

Chhatrasal Bundela of Panna had come into closer contacts with Sawai Jai Singh during the Maharaja's governorship of Malwa (Feb. 1713-Nov. 1717) and was highly impressed by his abilities.[1] The intimate relations which devèloped during the campaigns against the Marathas and Afghan rebels in Malwa were maintained even after the deposition of Farrukhsiyar (Feb. 1719) and Chhatrasal mostly framed his policies towards Emperor Mohammad Shah and Mohammād Khan Bangash the Subahdar of Allahabad, in consultation with Jai Singh.

Some letters discovered in the Jaipur archives, which were written by Chhatrasal and the Rajas of Orchha and Datia reveal the great influence which Sawai Jai Singh exercised over them. It was really he who prompted Chhatrasal to antagonise Mohammad Khan Bangash and successfully instigated other Bundela chiefs to combine with Chhatrasal against Diler Khan the Chela of Bangash, who was then incharge of the parganas of Kalpi, Erach and Bhander.[2]

These letters also supply me interesting factual and geographical details to the account of the battle between the Bundelas, combined

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with Chhatrasal, and Diler Khan, as given by Will'am Irvine in his well known paper on the Bangash Nawabs of Farrukhabad.[3] This account may now be reconstructed as following :—

'In 1720, the Bundelas plundered Kalpi and killed Pir Ali Khan, the Amil of the place, and his son. Diler Khan, the Chela of Bangash, led an expedition against the Bundelas and forced them to evacuate the parganas of Kalpi and Jalalpur.[4] But soon afterwards the Bundelas mustered strong under Chhatrasal himself and advanced over thirty thousand in number, stiffened with a park of heavy artillery. Diler Khan realiscd his precarious position and tried to avoid an engagement with the Bundelas. He left Sohrapur,[5] where he was then encamping, and marched to Alona[6]. Chhatrasal with his army arrived at Sohrapur on the 8th May 1721. Here the progress of the Bundelas was checked due to the incessant rains. Chhatrasal however kept up the pursuit and followsng the course of the river Ken reached near Alona. In the meanwhile Diler Khan had escaped to Maudha.[7] Chhatrasal, determined to force an engagement on him, lost no time and started moving towards Maudha on the 15th May. Diler khan, now convinced of the inevitability of a show down with the Bundelas, decided to strike first.

On the 15th May 1721, Diler Khan marched forward with his four thousand men and personally led an attack on the vanguard of the Bundela, with five hundred of his chosen warriors. Jagat Raj, the son of Chhatrasal, was leading the vanguard. He was caught unawares. But Diler Khan could not secure any substantial advantage over the enemy by this surprise attack, as the other Bundela forces which were moving a little behind soon arrived at the scene of action. The Pathans were outnumbered and outmanoevred. They performed prodigies of valour, which proved of little avail against the numerical superiority of the Bundelas. Diler Khan fell dead on the battlefield and most of his followers shared his fate.'

This account is mostly based on the two letters of Chhatrasal addressed to Jai Singh and his agents Mehta Dayaram and Rasikrai etc. According to Irvine this encounter took place on the 13th May 1721, but Chhatrasal in his letter to Mehta Dayaram and Rasikrai,

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written just after the battle, mentions that it occurred on the Jeth *Budi* 30, Sam. 1778 i.e. 15th May 1721, which should be taken as more correct.[8]

In another letter dated 22nd April 1725, Chhatrasal communicates to Jai Singh that Saadat Khan Burhamulmulk crossed the river Jamuna and entered his territories. He however soon afterwards recrossed the river with Hirde Shah and Jagatraj at his heels.[9] This entire letter is written in an aggrieved tone. Chhatrasal complains of undue interference by Saadat Khan and makes reference to the hostile designs of Muhammad Khan Bangash and Nizamulmulk who was then holding the governorship of Malwa. In one of his former letters to Jai Singh dated 12th July 1724, also, as in the above one, 'Chhatrasal makes reference to the grant of the disputed territories to him by the Emperor through the good offices of Sawai Jai Singh himself, and requests the latter to bear witness to this uncalled for meddling by the imperial officers in his affairs, whenever the case is presented to the Emperor.[10] These two letters clearly indicate the unwillingness of Chhatrasal to enter into any conflict with Muhammad Khan Bangash if securely left to his possessions. But it seems that the promptings, which he received from the nobles at court in general and Sawai Jai Singh in particular, who viewed with serious alarm the meteoric rise of Muhammad Khan Bangash, precipitated the Bangash Bundela war.

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1. Vide Dr. Raghubir Singh's article 'Marathas in Malwa' published in Sardesai Commemoration Volume 1938.
2. The following letters sent by the prominent chiefs of Bundelkhand to Jai Singh or his agents confirm the above statement:—

Hirde Shah	S/O Chhatratal	31St. May	1721
Udot Singh of Orchha		1St. June	1721
Ram Chandra of Datia		27th. May	1721
Chhatrasal		10th. May	1721
,,		15th. May	1721
,,		12th. July	1721
,,		22nd. April	1721

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Jaipur Hindi Records (J. H. R.) Raghubir Library, Sitamau.
Vol. 11, pt. 111, p. 31,32,42-44.
Vol. 111 Pt. V, P. 13.
Vol. V Pt. VIII, P. 23,24,42.

3 J.A.S.B., 1878

4 Jalalpur—18 miles south of Kalpi

5 Sohrapur—in pargana Pailani Hamirpur District.

6 Alona—10 miles south of Pailani.

7 Maudha—13 miles west of Alona.

8 Jaipur Hindi Records (Sitamau)
Vol. V part VIII p. 23(Ch. S. to Jai Singh, 10 May 1721)
Vol. III part V.P. 13 (Ch. S. to Dayaram etc. 15 May 1721)
J. A. S. B. 1878, p. 285.

9 J. H. R. Vol. II pt. III p. 42-43.

10 J. H. R. Vol. IV pt. VIII p. 42.

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SECTION III

MODERN INDIAN HISTORY

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SECTION III

PRESIDENTIAL ADDRESS

By

Dr. R. R. Sethi, Head of the Department of History, Punjab University (Camp) College, New Delhi

Fellow Delegates, Ladies and Gentlemen,

My first thought as I rise to address you is that of thankful recognition, in no platitudinous sense, of the honour done to me in being chosen to preside over the Modern India Section at this Session of the Indian History Congress held in this historic city. Customary, as such initial thanksgiving has become on the part of incoming Presidents, in my case this expression comes out of the depths of the heart, and I must acknowledge that it is more to your kind friendliness than to any merit I may possess that I owe this elevation.

In my address I propose to deal with a few important points in regard to the study and writing of the Modern Indian History.

Almost a decade has gone by since India became independent. The attainment of our goal of Swaraj marked the end of a significant epoch of Indian History, namely the British Rule which to a large extent covers the modern period. The history of this epoch has so far been written mostly by British writers among whom were professional scholars as well as amateurs. Since the withdrawal of the British, not unnaturally, the interest of such writers in Indian history is diminishing and their contribution to it will not be as rich as it has been in the past. The void thus created will be a serious one, and it is now up to the Indian scholars to sustain the study of their past. Moreover, with the coming of independence the history of India should be written by her own sons and with a viewpoint centered on India rather than on any foreign country. At the same time it has also to be remembered that the rapid changes in historical perspective which have taken place during the recent years have rendered inadequate, if not

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obsolete, the standard works on Indian History, particularly those on the modern period.

The character of the writings on the history of modern India by British authors, beginning from the monumental contribution of James Mill in the early years of the nineteenth century, has been mainly conditioned by the current political ideas and the position of the British in India as well as in the international sphere. This statement does not in any way mean any adverse reflection on the value of the contribution of those British writers to Indian history. In fact they have laid the solid foundations of Indian historiography, on which we have to base our work for many years to come. They were, however, the products of their times and susceptible to the influence of their environment and prejudices of their countrymen. It is well known that James Mill in writing his *History of British India* was actuated by the motive of applying utilitarian ideas in govering India. To prove his thesis he quite often relied upon what today we regard as unreliable evidence. After the revolt of 1857-58, quite a large number of British writers were motivated by racial ill-feelings which were caused by the cruel massacres on both sides. It was perhaps not possible for them to take an objective view and to record events as those had actually occured. Their views were prejudiced and so were their writings. Thus history got misrepresented by them.

A large proportion of the British writers were administrators and military officers; they may better be called foreign rulers and conquerors. They spent several years in India, and going back "Home" they carried their prejudices with them. Their writings on Indian history, even when they show some respect for the people and culture of India, were biassed. They also used history for teaching some moral lessons to their countrymen. Their main object was to arouse the interest of the British public in the achievements of their Empire and to emphasize the superiority of their national charcater. By and large, they appear to be unsympathetic to the national movement and the political aspirations of the Indian people.

In another respect too the historical studies on Modern India

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by British writers left much to be desired. As they were writing for the British public they treated the developments in India as a part of their Imperial history. Their work was mainly devoted to political events and changes in government and administration, the spheres in which the British rulers worked. They failed to realize that there was the Indian side of the picture which was equally significant. Thus the history of British India remained mostly political in character and no attention was paid to the changes which Indian society was undergoing and the vicissitudes through which the people of the country were passing. During the period between the two World Wars the history of India began to be written in a different way mainly because of the change in views regarding the scope of history. Some initial attempts were made in regrad to the study of economic conditions, social pattern of ideas and cultural developments, particularly related to the impact of western influences on India. But as a whole Modern Indian History has remained political and administrative in character. The contributions of Indian scholars too have more or less been on the lines laid down by the British writers.

In recent years the need for writing a comprehensive history of the Indian people has been keenly felt. This has been for many years one of the main objects of the Indian History Congress. How far we have succeeded in achieving it is a matter which I leave it to you to judge. To attain this object, it is necessary to build up a sub-structure of detailed studies on the economic, social, religious, cultural and intellectual development of the people during the past two hundred years. This offers a vast field for Indian scholars and so little has been done as yet in this direction.

It is true that certain aspects of Modern Indian History have remained almost unexplored, but fresh light needs to be shed even on some obscure points about the subjects on which much has been written. In this connection I may mention the history of the Great Rebellion of 1857, which has fascinated quite a number of English scholars and on which several monumental studies have been published. Apart from the fact that the study of the Indian side of this important phase of the relations of India with the British has

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been neglected by those scholars, certain controversial issues still remain to be settled. There arises first of all the question, whether the revolt against the British rulers was the result of a pre-planned conspiracy to free the country of foreign domination,or merely the armed protest of the *sipahis* against the introduction of greased cartridges which they regarded as an attack on their religion and caste scruples. Today attempts are being made by certain 'nationalist elements'in the country to prove that the rebellion was the result of a well-arranged and pre-concerted plan on the part of the Indian soldiers as well as that of the people in general, and any evidence that might lend weight to such a thesis is accepted without critical examination. Malleson, the foremost of the English writers on the "Mutiny", also believed that the revolt had been preplanned, basing his views on the testimony of J. C. Wilson (who had acted as Special Commissioner in North West Provinces in 1857-58). Wilson, it should be remembered, made a sweeping statement in his "Narrative of the District of Moradabad" that 31st May, 1857, was fixed for the Mutiny to commence throughout the Bengal Army and that there were 'Committees of about three members in each Regiment" which conducted the correspondence and arranged the plan of operations[1]. His assertion, however, does not appear to have been based on facts and Wilson's own *Narrative* does not contain any direct or indirect evidence to support it.

On the other hand, we have the opinion of the authorities at Meerut, where the first outbreak occurred, opposed to the view expressed by Wilson. The *Official Narrative of the Mutiny at Meerut* written by F. Williams does not show that there was any previous conspiracy.[2] Further, we have the valuable *Memorandum on the Outbreak at Meerut* by Major G. W. Williams, Commissioner of Military Police. The latter, after examining 72 witnesses, whose evidence is available to us, arrived at a positive conclusion that there was no pre-concerted plan of the revolt prior to the confinement of the 85 *sowars* of the 3rd Regiment of Bengal Light Cavalry. According to him the decision of the *sipahis* to make an appeal to arms most probably was taken either on 9th May or the

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following day, a few hours before they actually rose against their masters.[3] It is also a well-known fact that rebel *sipahis* at Meerut fled hurriedly as a disorganized rebel without any leader to guide or control them. Had there been pre-planning, such a thing would not have happened.

Major William's views regarding the circulation of the *chapatis* shortly before the outbreak in 1857 are also of great significance, as their circulation has been regarded by some writers as an indication of the existence of a conspiracy to overthrow foreign yoke and to enlist the support of the common people. According to him, though the circulation of the *chapatis* appeared to be suspicious and mysterious, Indians examined by him did not regard it "as an ill omen but supposed it to have originated in some vow." The mystery about the *chapatis* still remains unravelled and there is no conclusive evidence to connect it with an organized attempt to overthrow the authority of the East India Company. Moreover, the *chapatis* were not circulated among the alleged conspirators, the *sipahis* of the Bengal Army, but among the village folk.

The day following the outbreak at Meerut the "mutineers" arrived in Delhi which city became the most important centre of the revolt. Here also we do not find any evidence of the existence of a pre-concerted plan on the part of the rebels. During the trial of Bahadur Shah an attempt was made to prove that the King of Delhi had been in secret conspiracy against the British Government, but this charge could not be upheld. To Bahadur Shah the appearance of the Meerut *sipahis* before his palace on the morning of the 11th of May, 1857, must have been as much a surprise and a shock as to the Englishmen in Delhi. His attitude at that time was one of vacillation, but the circumstances left him no alternative but to accept the nominal leadership of the rebels.

The views of a great contemporary, Sir John Lawrence, are of great significance in settling this question of a preconceived plan regarding the "Mutiny". As Chief Commissioner of the Punjab in 1857-58, he had a large share in the supression of the rebellion in Delhi, and much credence is to be attached to his candid analysis of the causes of the outbreak given when he was forwarding to the

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Government of India, the "Proceedings and Papers regarding the Trial of Bahadur Shah." He categorically stated that "there was no conspiracy in the army irrespective of the cartridge affair, and no really organized conspiracy even in respect to that." He added that "a mass of *sipahi* correspondence has been inspected, the common talk of the mutineers in Delhi has been reported, the records of the palace have been ransacked, and yet no trace of any such detailed plan has been formed." John Lawrence also disbelieved that there was any previous conspiracy outside the army. Had there been any such thing, its traces would have been surely discovered at least in Delhi.[4]

The evidence produced by Wlliams and Lawrence would lead us to an inference that there was no pre-planned attempt on the part of the Bengal Army or other disaffected classes to raise the standard of rebellion in 1857. It is unfortunate that we have little material evidence from the Indian side to arrive at a final conclusion, and it should be the endeavour of Indian historians to unearth and evaluate such material, if any exists.

There is another aspect of the Rebellion of 1857 which needs careful study, if it is to be regarded as revolt of a united people against their rulers and oppressors. We should know exactly as to who actively participated in the revolt apart from the disaffected *sipahis* and some dispossessed princes and their adherents, and as to what were their motives. It would indeed be an interesting study to find how the peasants, artisans and merchants reacted towards it. The social and economic factors connected with this upheaval also need a thorough examination. It is a significant fact that there was no general outbreak of the people even after the first shots had been fired by the *sipahis*. At no place the disturbances occurred before the military outbreak. Does this mean that the people in general had no active share in the attempt to shake off the foreign yoke ? A fresh assessment of the causes, nature and course of the Rebellion of 1857, without bias and passions, is a prime necessity in the rewriting of the history of Modern India. We are looking forward with great interest to Dr. Surendranath Sen's work which is expected to be published by the time of the Centenary celebrations

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of the Great Rebellion in May next. I am confident that we will find in it solution of the major problems connected with this important subject.

Next I would like to say a few words about the primary source materails of Modern Indian History, namely the public records. A student of history is naturally interested in their proper administration and the facilities for access to them. He has to know exactly where the materials required by him for a particular study are available, and this task can be simplified for him if records are maintained according to archival principles. It is universally accepted that records , irrespective of their subjects, belong to the agency which has created them or to the successor agency. It is also a well-established rule that the organic unity of records should not be broken and they should not be dismembered and dispersed under any circumstances. If these principles are followed, I am sure, it will be quite easy for a researcher to know to which repository he has to go for obtaining materials of interest to him. Unfortunately these fundamental principles of archive-keeping have not been observed in our country even in recent years in the matter of determining the disposal of important classes of records. Whenever political and constitutional changes have taken place, artificial divisions of records have also taken place with disastrous results.

You will not doubt recall that on the eve of the introduction of Provincial Autonomy in 1937, the Government of India decided to separate the records pertaining to Indian States from those of the Provincial Governments and the Government of India, because the political relations of the States had been transferred to the Crown Representative. This step was no doubt dictated by political considerations but was in complete disregard of the integrity of archives and their use for research workers. Fortunately no physical division of the records of the Government of India took place, but the archives of the Provincial Governments which had conducted political relations with the Indian States were dismembered, and those relating to the affairs of the States were transferred to the custody of the Political Agencies and Residencies. This unfortunate step not only created serious gaps in the archives of the Provincial Governments,

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but also resulted in the loss of documents which would have formed a rich source material for Modern Indian History. After the lapse of Paramountcy some of these records were transferred to the National Archives of India,but in such a disarranged condition that they cannot be consulted by researchers even now. If these records had remained in their original series, in the archives of the Provincial Governments which created them, the work of the scholars would have been immensely faciliated.

With the withdrawal of British authority in 1947, futher irreparable damage was done to records in India. It is well-known fact that a large number of records of the Political Department of the Government of India and the British Residencies were destroyed before the transfer of political power to India. The remaining records of the Residencies were also divided. Some of those which were regarded of administrative value, were transferred to certain States, and quite a large portion of these archives, and possibly the most valuable part, was handed over to the United Kingdom High Commission in India. This action of the then authorities in transferring these records to a foreign agency cannot be justified on any grounds. From the reports which have been placed before the Indian Historical Records Commission since 1948, one learns with deep regret that the efforts of our Union Government for retrieving these lost treasures have so far proved of no avail. I would therefore suggest that the Government of India should take effective steps for the return of these records to their legitimate owners.

In contrast to this treatment of archives by the former rulers, I must mention with pleasure and pride, the decision taken in1947 in regard to other non-current records of the Government of India. According to the basic archival principles, these were not divided and thus the unique collection of records at the National Archives of India was saved from disintegration. This decision, one must admit, does credit to the leaders and governments of both India and Pakistan.

The integration of a large number of former Princely States with the Indian Union also presented difficult problems regarding the ownership and custody of the archives of these States, parti-

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cularly relating to the functions which were taken over by the Union Government. Once again the Government of India, proceeding on scientific lines, decided that only the open files of the integrating States relating to federal subjects should be transferred to the appropriate Ministries or other agencies of the Union Government, and the non-current records should continue in the custody of the State Governments, or their successors where the States had ceased to have separate entity. Thus the integrity of these records was maintained.

About eight weeks ago, with the reorganisation of States, India again witnessed and welcomed some major constitutional and political changes. We are quite naturally concerned with the future dispositon of the archives of the States which have been affected by this reorganization. In 1954, the Indian Historical Records Commission, at its Hyderabad Session, considered this problem and recommended that in the event of reorganization of States their records should not be divided, except for the open files required for purposes of administration. It is not known what action the Union Government and the State Governments have taken to implement this wise recommendation.

We may here consider the broad principles which should govern the distribution and custody of these archives. (The legislation in this connection does not indicate in any way how the records affected would be disposed.)

The problem of the records of the States which have been formed by the merger of two or more existing States, like the new Punjab should present no difficulty. The records of the Punjab and Pepsu will be the property of the new State. The disappearance of the former State of Hyderabad and the distribution of its territories among three major States creates a complexity in the problem of the disposal of its valuable archival collections, but if the Governments concerned proceed on the principle of maintaining the integrity of records, the Collections of non-current records, either in its Central Records Office or in the departments of the former State Government of Hyderabad, should not be broken up or divided like other forms of property. These should be maintained in their entirety in the Record Office at Hyderabad under the control of the Government of Andhra

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Pradesh. The other interested States should get the open files pertaining either to the subjects to be dealt with by them, or to the territories included within their boundaries. They should of course have the right of reference to any record which may be of interest to them or which may be required for their administrative use. Acting on the same principle , the new Madhya Pradesh State should get all the records of the former States of Bhopal, Vindhya Pradesh and Madhya Bharat, but only the open files of the former Madhya Pradesh State which are of interest to the new State.

The records of the Part 'C' States which have now ceased to exist present no special difficulty. These should be taken over by the successor Governments and not by any other authority. It may perhaps be argued that since constitutionally Part 'C' States were regarded as centrally administered areas, their records should belong to the Union Government. But this would be a fallacious argument far removed from the actual practice. Since the framing of our Constitution most of these States had popular ministries and legislatures and it had been the policy of the Union Government to treat them gradually as autonomous units like Part 'A' or 'B' States. It was also expected that after a short time these small units would lose their separate existence and merge in the neighbouring States. In such circumstances the records of the former Part' C'States cannot be considered, by any stretch of imagination, as those belonging to the Union Government, and they should have their place among the archives of the successor States. Their position would more or less be that of the records of local administrations with in those States. Any decision contrary to these principles would prove harmful to the archives concerned and to the interests of historical scholarship in the country.

If historical studies are to be given an impetus in this country, public records should not only be well maintained but they should be easily accessible to researchers. Since 1947 interest in the study of recent history, particularly in the history of our freedom movement, has been on the increase. For preparing an authentic and objective account of the circumstances leading to the attainment of

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independence and various factors which helped the growth of the the nationalist movement in India, it is necessary that the records of the Government of India and State Governments be available to students of history. It is true that the Governments have to restrict the use of recent records for protecting their own interests; but in the case of public records of India upto 1946, the interests of our present Government would not be adeversely affected by making them available for research. Several years back the Indian History Congress had recommended that all records of dates prior to 1946 should be thrown open to researchers, but this recommendation does not appear to have been accepted by the authorities. The Government of India has recently liberalized their Research rules, but the records of the last 40 years are still closed to research. In this connection it may be pointed out that in the United States of America twnetyfive years' old records of even the State Department are open to the public, while genuine scholars are given access to records even of more recent date. No doubt there are more stringent restrictions imposed on the use of public records in certain European countries, but there is no reason why our Government should follow their example. It is pleasant to learn that even in Prussia under a despotic regmie, when Bismarck commissioned the famous German historian Heinrich von Sybel, to write the history of the German Unification, almost unrestricted use of public records, including those of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, was allowed to him. In the interests of historical research in this country we should expect and plead for a generous treatment to scholars by the Government of India and other public agencies.

It is also necessary that the task of historians should be facilitated by the archivists by the provision of suitable reference works, such as guides, indices and calendars of records. This essential function, has been neglected to a large extent. The general guides to records in the National Archives of India, the West Bengal Record Office and Bombay Record Office were published long ago and have become out of date. Recently some of the Record Offices have published valuable collections of records but these are of use to only a few working in those fields. The work of publication of re-

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cords *in extenso* should be taken up by the archivists only after they have prepared the basic tools of research which are a prime necessity for all scholars. Let us hope that the Government of India and the State Governments will pay greater attention in future to the preparation of these reference works and thus encourage the study and writing of Modern Indian History.

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(3) *Ibid*, pp. 290. 348.

(4) Letter from the Secretary to the Chief Commissioner of the Punjab to the Secretary to the Government of India with the Governor General, dated the 29th April, 1858, published in *History of Indian Mutiny* of 1857-58 by Kaye and Malleson, London, 1898, Vol. V, pp. 350-62.

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NATURE OF THE OUTBREAK OF 1857

BY

Dr. R. C. Majumdar

Divergent opinions have been expressed regardidg the nature of the great outbreak of 1857. Some think that it was not a mutiny of the sepoys but a rebellion of the people. Others hold the view that it was primarily and essentially a mutiny of sepoys, though in certain areas, roughly corresponding to the modern state of U. P., it drifted into a revolt of the civil population. According to a third view, it was a planned and organised political and military rising aimed at destroying the British power in India.

The first and the third views imply that there was a conspiracy or pre-concerted plan among the leaders, and Malleson refers to a regular organisation with an Executive Council who arranged the whole affair. An examination of all the known facts about the so-called leaders discounts the theory of any such organisation or conspiracy.

Bahadur Shah was absolutely unaware of the mutiny of the sepoys at Mirat until they actually arrived at Delhi and requested him to take the lead. Though he accepted the offer, very reluctantly, he was at heart opposed to them and devoted to the cause of the British The sepoys suspected, almost from the very beginning, that he, his Begum Zinnat Mahal, and Ahsanullah, his chief adviser and right-hand man were secretly in league with the British. They even intercepted such treasonable correspondence. All this we know from the statements of Jiwanlal Munshi and Chunilal both of whom were in Delhi throughout the siege of that city by the British. The suspicion of the sepoy is now fully confirmed by the British records. Greathed, in his letters, refers, to the letters and message he received from Zinnat Mahal and the princes, professing loyalty to the British and offering them help. Recently I have come across some letters, in London, among the Mutiny Papers of Kaye, which

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give a detailed account of the intrigue between Bahadur Shah and the Commander-in-Chief of the British forces besieging Delhi, in which on certain conditions, he promised to admit the British forces secretly to the city. Nothing further is necessary to dispel the myth of Bahadur Shah organising the War of Independence.

While there is no positive evidence of a trustworthy nature to show that Nana organised the conspiracy, the facts before us seem to indicate that he was unaware of the mutiny of the sepoys at Kanpur until it actually broke out, and then he was forced to join them. When the sepoys were proceeding to Delhi to join the other sepoys, he induced them to come back to Kanpur and there declared himself as Peshwa, showing how little he cared for a united plan of action. According to the recently published statement of Nishan Singh, a trusty lieutenant of Kunwar Singh, the latter was threatened by the mutinous sepoys that if he did not join them they would loot Jagdishpur. As regards the Rani of Jhansi I have come across more than a dozen contemporary documents, including three letters from the Rani herself, which clearly show that even more than nine months after the mutiny of the sepoys at Jhansi she was professing loyalty to the British and asked for their help against her neighbouring states which had attacked her dominions. The Rani did not openly declare against the British until Sir Hugh Rose actually began his campaign and she felt that she could not convince the the British of her innocence and was faced with the alternative of trial for the murder of the English at Jhansi, with its foregone decision, and an honourable death in the battle-field. She chose the latter, and once she made the decision, she showed courage and resourcefulness which won the admiration even of her opponents. But while this reflects great credit on her, she had no hand in the organisation, if any, of the so-called national rising.

Thus so far as available evidence goes, we have no information about any leader who may be regarded as having organised the conspiracy against the British.

The fact seems to be that the initial success of the sepoys in Awadh and Rohilkhand and the flight of the British, both civil and military, from all the stations in this territory, led to a general

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belief that British Raj was over, and hence the discontented Talukdars, chiefs and other elements of population took advantage of the situation to serve their own interests. Thus the mutiny drifted into a revolt only in those places where its success drove away the British. But as this did not occur in any area outside U. P. and a fringe of territory surrounding it, there was no revolt of the people, though there was grave discontent among all classes.

THE SIEGE OF DHAR (Oct. 1857)

By

(Prof. B. N. Luniya)

Dhar was a small Maratha State in Central India, now Madhya Bharat. In 1857 a child of nearly thirteen years was the ruler of Dhar State. Consequently the affairs of the State were looked after by the Dewan and the Queen-mother. The fearful convulsions of the Mutiny of 1857 had affected the states of Central India like other capital towns of Northern India and the powerful contingent of the Indian Sepoys under the British had broken from their allegiance and revolted against the British in Neemuch, Gwalior, Indore, Mhow, Nowgaon Bhopawar, Agar, Mahidpur and other places in Central India. The strong military stations of the British in C. I. had fallen temporarily into the hands of the Mutineers. Dhar about 40 miles from Indore could not escape the conflagration. The Indian sepoys of Dhar attacked the British cantonment at Bhopawar, a few miles away from Dhar, and later on he occupied the strong fort of Dhar, once the seat of the renowned Parmars of Malwa. In their attempt to strike at the power of the Mutineers the British besieged the Dhar fortress in Oct. 1857 and captured it with great difficulty.

When the Govt. of Madhya Bharat set up a state committee to collect the material for writing the History of Freedom Movement I had the opportunity to go through the Govt. records of the

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Holkar State with a view to fish out material for the Mutiny of 1857 in Southern Madhya Bharat. Fortunately more than a thousand Govt. letters and reports by the State Vakeels and district officials have been discovered throwing light on the events of the Mutiny. Among these are some letters written by the then Vakeel of the Holkar Darbar stationed at Mhow, a strong military station of the British 14 miles away frcm Indore. He accompanied the British force which set off from Mhow to capture Dhar. He was an eye witness to the siege of Dhar. With the help of his letters as well as other material discovered in the Govt. records and the Foreign Office Library of the Holkar State, Indore a detailed account of the British siege of Dhar can easily be constructed. I summarise it here.

The fort of Dhar, situated outside the town of Dhar, is a very old and strong fort with massive stone walls constructed on considerable raised ground. Near the fort existed a few huts of the poor people in 1857 and the main road to the town passed by the fort. In Oct. 1857 the Indian Sepoys who took up arms against the British in Dhar and Bhopawar occupied the fort of Dhar It was a grave danger to the British position in C. I. The Dewan of the Dhar State had sympathised with the mutineers and offered arms and ammunition to them. Therefore the British decided to crush the rising power of the Mutineers in Dhar.

On the 20th Oct. 1857 at 6.30 A. M. the Bombay company, some Madras Sappers, under Major Keane, Woolcomb's battery and the troopers of the 3rd Cavalry of Hyderabad Contingent and a squadron of dragoons marched from Mhow to Dhar under Brigadier Stuart and this British force arrived at Dhar on Thursday Oct. 22nd and pitched their camp about one mile and a half from the fort on the southern side. When the mutinied sepoys had noticed the British soldiers they marched out of the fort to check their advance. They had planted three brass guns on a hill south of the fort and arranged themselves along the eastern side of the fort. A skirmish followed in the morning and continued till 12 noon. Shri Ganesh Sitaram Holkar's Vakeel with the British force at Dhar, gives an account of this battle in his letter No. 4793 dated 23rd Oct. 1857. The British troopers and dragoons charged on the guns of the enemy which were

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discharging shells on them. The Valayatis who formed the largest number of the Mutinied sepoys made a move to get round to the British baggage and their rear but were frustrated. By noon the English succeeded in capturing three guns of the enemy. About 20 Valayatis were killed, three British dragoons wounded by Sabre cuts, one Jamadar and one Sawar of the Hyderabad Contingent killed and two wounded in this undecisive skirmish. The Mutineers retired in the fort.

Now the British surrounded the fort. On the 23rd Oct. they raised a wall of sand bags on the Khande Rao hill some two thousand yards south of the fort and placing their battery behind the wall constantly threw shells in the fort. On the eastern and northern sides of the fort the British placed strong cavalry units, irregulars and infantry of the 25th N. I. and H. M. 86th. To the west of the fort was a lake and so no soldiers were posted there. Thus, the British had arranged a trap from which there was no escape for the Mutineers. Besides this, the British reconnoitring parties were sent out and, as Holkar's Vakeel mentions, they shot down many innocent persons suspecting them to be the spies of the besieged Mutineers. The British placed strong guards on the gates of the walled town of Dhar to prevent regular supplies being carried to the mutineers besieged in the fort. But the rebel force had little to fear from the besiegers. They were too safe behind the solid stone walls of the fort and obtained ammunition and gun-powder from the Dhar Government authorities. It was believed that the brother-in-law of the Raja of Dhar was associating himself secretly with the Mutineers.

On Friday the 23rd of Oct. again there was a sharp engagement between the Valayatis and the British soldiers and the former lost four guns to the latter. Suspecting people's sympathy for the Mutineers the Agent to the Governor-General went into the town of Dhar on Oct. 24th. He paid a visit to the Maharaja and addressed a small gathering of the shop-keepers saying--" No harm will come to you, you should bring Ata and Dal to our camp and live without any worry."

Firing from both sides continued on the 24th of Oct. The

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Valayatis, with the help of the Qiledar of the Fort, recovered from the celler of the fort four hundred shots and a good deal of gun-powder for their use. But as they did not get much help from the Dewan of the state they commenced firing on the town of Dhar. Whereupon the Dewan sent his agent Laxman Baxi to the Valayatis into the fort to reassure the Valayatis of the Dewan's supporr and sympathy.

Inspite of the continuous firing for three days the British failed to make any impression on the enemy, 4000 strong besieged in the fort. On the 24th of Oct. they mounted some of their guns on two or three places to try to find out whether they could fire their shots into the fort. But they noticed that their shells did not go even as far as the fort. So they now decided to breach the walls of the fort by establishing position for their battery as practicable and near the fort as possible. The south east and north faces of the fort were quite inapproachable and the approaches on all these sides were almost perpendicular, while the walls and the bastions were equally strong, and considerably higher due to the fall of the hill on these sides. Therefore, the British decided to place their heavy guns on the mound facing the western part of the fort nearly four hundred yards from the fort. The place was selected by Major Boilen of the Madras Engineers and on the morning of the 25th of Oct. the cavalry and infantry soldiers took up position on this side and the heavy siege-guns brought from Mhow for the purpose on the 24th were carried on the mound slowly and ponderously by the bulky elephants. The inhabitants of this area were compelled by the besiegers to desert their houses. The Mutineers, besieged in the fort, were not idle. They also placed their guns on the left flank near the palace in the fort and the heavy guns of each side opened the fire on the opposite side. Every time the English fired, the besieged Mutineers replied with the shower of bullets and balls. By this time in the battle, according to the letter of the Holkar's Vakeel, 50 Bhils, 150 Pindaris and 200 others were killed on the side of the Mutineers and their dead bodies were cremated while

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the English lost 100 including Europeans, Natives, camp-followers and others.

As the fort could not be stormed and occupied easily by the British, they began to create a considerable trouble in the city of Dhar. They plundered the houses of the Kamawasdar (Dhar Govt. Official), Motisingh Thakur and the Zamindar. They picked quarrels with the local merchants, attacked them, looted the Pindarwadi and Bundelwadi localities and committed outrages on the women, killed a large number of men, women and children and thus created a panic in the town. Now the Europeans started patrolling around the town guarding all gates and preventing the entry of persons in the town. Later they posted their guards inside the town at the State palace and main police Station of the city. They did not hesitate to shoot a person if he was suspected. To appease the British the Dewan of the Dhar State encamped himself in a tent near the British Resident's quarters.

On the 26th Oct. the British commenced the cannonade before dawn taking their 'morcha' on a rising ground at Jaitpura and tried to get into the fort by means of ladders, but failed. As a result of the heavy bombardment the southern bastion of the fort was destroyed together with one of the heaviest guns of the Valayatis called Laxmi. The Valayatis could not fire their guns and rifles effectively because their damp gunpowder was not serviceable.

As their ranks were getting thinner everyday the besieged Valayatis sent fervent appeals to the Govt. officials at Indore that as the standard of 'Deen' was hoisted at Dhar all Muslims should be sent to Dhar to fight against the British but in vain.

To terrorise the people and make the storming of the fortress easier, the British set fire to the village at the foot of the fort in the night on the 26th and 27th of Oct. They were helped here by a native guide. The conflagration spread very fast and the whole town was enveloped in flames flickering high and broad. Soon the village was one huge burning pile overshadowed by curling clouds of smoke. Now the British moved their guns all around the fort and placed their heavy guns including eighteen-pounders and twenty-four

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pound howitzer on the top of the Khanderao hill near the fort and tightened their siege. As a result of this a breach in the wall of the fort was widened considerably and in the evening of the 29th Oct. the British Brigadier received a letter from the besieged Mutineers in the fort requesting to know upon what terms a surrender would be granted. An unconditional surrender was the British reply. On the morning of the 30th the Mutineers hoisted the white flag. Consequently 'cease-fire' was ordered and a British Vakeel was sent to the gate of the fort to hear what the Mutineers had to say. While the conference between the British Vakeel and the representatives of the besieged was going on the leaders of the Mutineers thoroughly examined the breach and decided to take certain precautionery measures. Then they cooly told the British Vakeel that had one of the officers of the Rajah of Dhar been sent, they would have conferred with him and soon the Vakeel was driven away. This annoyed the British and they resumed the breaching and shelling with greater vigour. Consequently shells dropped in every part of the fort including the palace within In the battle thus commenced the Mutineers shot dead with others Lieut. Christie, an artillery officer of the British. The battle continued even on the 31st but the Mutineers' firing was not kept up unremittingly. Realising that breaches were very wide, the Mutineers deserted the fort unnoticed by the British. Then the British entered the fort in the night but not a soul was there to welcome them. Overjoyed at their victory the British military officers went about in the palace rooms in the fort with lighted cheroots and this set fire to heaps of loose gunpowder left by the Mutineers and these enormous heaps were exploded forthwith. Consequently Dr. Butler of the Bombay Artillery, Lieut. Thane, Commissary and Lieut. Giles were blown up.

In the fort the British found about thirty brass guns of various siezs and heaps of gunpowder and cannon balls of all sizes lying about upon the various bastions. In some buildings within the fort they found little heaps of grain, powder flasks, belts, shoes, hats,

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drums, spears, matchlocks, muskets, bayonets, talwars, carpets, tents, linen, copper pots, etc. But the most valuable thing that they found was the enormous chest in the palace. It contained huge silver basins, dishes, plates, cups, lamps, vases and bags of gold muhars and silver coins, each bag contained 2500 Rupees. In one of the rooms of the palace they found a large four-post silver bedstead with all its trapping in silver. The silver rails, steps, and bells belonging to the bed were all lying in a heap upon the floor. The booty that the English force captured in the fort was 'something less than nine lacs, and this was sent under an European guard to the fort of Mhow.

After acquiring the booty the British force partially destroyed the bastions and walls of the fort and on sunday the 8th Nov. 1857 at 5 P. M. left Dhar for Mandsour. They left "once stately fort behind them as a heap of ruins, the palace and gates burning piles."

THE NEGOTIATIONS WITH PERSIA FOR HERAT 1879-80

By. Sri D. K. Ghosh.

This paper, based exclusively on archival records, throws a flood of light on a very interesting chapter of British foreign policy in Central Asia.

The first phase of the Second Afghan War was over with the Treaty of Gandamak, 26th May, 1879. This treaty was abrogated when Cavagnari, the British Resident at Kabul, was assassinated, and in consequence operations were renewed against the Afghans. It was at this time that the theory of disintegration of Afghanistan was broached to effect a settlement of the Afghan question. There has been a general impression that the theory of disintegration was a matter of necessity, consequent upon the assassination of Cavagnari. But this paper will tend to show that the partition of the Afghan Kingdom was suggested long before Cavagnari was appointed the Cabul Resident.

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THE BEGINNINGS OF FAMINE POLICY IN INDIA

By

Dr. Dharma Bhanu

I

In the early days of the rule of the East-India Company the Government did not interest itself in much beyond keeping peace and order in its territories and collecting the land revenue and other taxes. It must, however, be admitted that keeping order was in itself a great boon to the people in these troubled days of insecurity and perpetual danger from robbers and plunderers.[1] "Amid the wars and distractions and financial difficulties that attended the building up of an empire, the claims of famine relief attracted small attention,[2]" felt the Famine Commission of 1901. The attitude of the Government began to change slowly as the administration gained a firm hold on the Indian soil. Some benevolent administrators contributed greatly to the evolution of this new spirit. The East India Company realized soon that it was not only the master of the Government of India, but also the greatest landlord of the country, and, as such, it stood to gain if it provided facilities for agricultural development and improvement in the life of the people.

The credit for the evolution of the policy of ameliorating the condition of the peasantry and giving relief to the starving and famishing people during the periods of famine and food scarcity goes to the administrators of the Agra Province, which was then called the North-Western Provinces. While the Government of India made "no attempt" "to formulate any general system of famine relief or preservation[3] the Government of the Agra province recognized the responsibility of the Government towards its subjects and made efforts to help the people as best as it could. Lord Auckland, the Governor-General, appreciated these efforts of the lieutenant-Governor of Agra, and on the retirement of the latter continued the policy initiated by him.

II

Agriculture in our country depends mainly upon rainfall in a parti-

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cular period of the year, and hence the economic life of the people is practically at the mercy of the rains. Whenever the rains do not visit the country at the proper time or are scanty, famine is sure to visit the people. The North-Western Province, or the Agra Province, though it forms an important part of the fertile Indo-Gangetic plains, is not immune from this inexorable law.

Famines visited the Mughal Province of Agra many a time. In the second year of the rule of the East India Company in the Upper Provinces (as these parts were then named), the people suffered from a famine in 1803-1804 on account of the failure of the monsoon in 1803.[4] In this famine the Government made remissions of land revenue to the extent of Rs. 3,00,000, besides the advances made to the cultivators and the bounties given to the traders for the import of food-grains into the Province.[5]

Famine visited the province again in 1812-1813. This time only a part of the province—the area west of the Yamuna river—was affected.[6] Thr effects of the bad crops of 1825 too, were severely felt by the people of the Upper Provinces, and there was a considerable scarcity of foodgrains. Statistics of death and starvation, however, were not maintained and, therefore, nothing can be said of the mortality figures during the period of scarcity.[7]

These early famines in the province were due to many causes, important among which were the failure of the rains, the excessive land revenue demand made by the Governments as a result of the farming system[8] and the insecurity resulting from fresh surveys and assessments. The relief attempted by the Government was only partial on all occasions, and no positive action was taken by way of a policy to ameliorate the condition of the people and give relief to their sufferings.

The greatest famine that visited the province before the Great Rebellion of 1857-58 was the famine of 1837-1838, known as the *Chauranve*. It enveloped a vast area of land and prevailed in a rather severe form almost throughout the south-western parts of the Province. The rains were unsually late and scanty in the year 1837 with the result that an absolute drought followed throughout the year. Not only did the *Kharif* crop fail entirely, but grass and fodder also

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were lost.[9] Famine conditions continued in 1838 also and misery and distress spread all over the province. Prices of food-grains shot up and harrowing scenes of poverty, scarcity and death were witnessed all-round.

The area affected was that between Allahabad and Delhi, especially the districts from Kanpur to Farrukhabad, Kalpi, Etawa, Agra, Mathura and Mainpuri. The eastern parts of the Agra Province and Rohilkand, however, suffered comparatively less. General results of famine were felt over the whole area.

Emly Eden, the sister of the Governor-General Auckland, recorded in her diary, written during the tour in the Upper Provinces, accounts on reading which our imagination boggles. At one place she wrote: "You cannot conceive the horrible sights we see, particularly children, perfect skeletons in many cases, their bones through their skin, without a rag of clothing, and utterly unlike human creatures. The sight is much too shocking. The women look as if they had been buried, their skulls look so dreadful. Even an official record confessed that"...society was entirely disorganized and horrors of all kinds pervaded the lands." A contemporary monthly periodical gives an eye-witness of "the harrowing scenes which every where present themselves to a traveller between Kanpur, Fategarh and Agra. ..Where no tributary stream offers its bosom to receive the dead, the bare ground of the villages forms the cemetry; and the number who have fallen victims to starvation may be known by the skeletons which every where are visible."[12]

People died in large numbers due to starvation. According to an estimate of Colonel Baird-Smith, 8,00,000 people were reported to have lost their lives, Crooke, however, felt these figures to be "much below the mark.[13] A great mortality was reported among the cattle population also, who died from the scarcity of fodder. In the Mathura district, for instance, village thatches were pulled down to feed the starving cattle.[14] Prices of food-grains rose to three times their normal. Wheat sold at Agra at the rate of 13½ seers a rupee, while in Khandesh one rupee could fetch 61 seers.[15]

Agra, the capital of the province for some time, was the principal

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resort of the famishing population.[16] The mortality rate in and around Agra was, consequently, very high. In April 1838 it was 173 per day, and in May 1838 the rate of mortality due to sickness alone was 227 per day.[17] Cholera raged fiercely; fever was a common malady and dysenteric diseases proved fatal in most of the cases.[18] Dr. R. B. Duncan reported in March 1838 that he came across cases of "the sufferers being picked up in the roads and ravines about the station (Agra town) by the people employed for the purpose and brought to the Hospital often in an insensible and expiring state, dying, in many instances, without recovering even the power of speech."[19] The problem, as Baird-Smith put it, was "not so much how to get food, as how to get the starving people to the food or the food to them in the cheapest and the most expeditious way possible.[20]

III.

The suffering and death all round, specially in the Agra Division, moved the Government also, and it made definite efforts to relieve the distress of the people. This was the first time when the Government recognized its responsibility for the relief of its famine-stricken subjects. The year 1837-1838, therefore, proved to be the year of the beginning of the famine policy of the Government. The Government of the Agra Province took the lead and the Government of India followed on the foot-steps of the Provincial Govt. The action of the Government of the province, however, was only a half-way action in as much as it decided to give relief to the able-bodied sufferers only, while the invalids and the disabled and the orphans were left to public charity.[21] This became necessary as the hands of the Provincial Government were tied in the absence of such a policy at the centre and also due to financial limitation.

When reports that the *kharif* crops had failed were confirmed, the Commissioner of the Agra Division recommended to the Government the proposals of G. C. Mahsel, the Collector of the Agra district, for the remission of the land revenue for the *fasli* year 1245. The immensity of the calamity was known to all and hence the Sadar Board of Revenue immediately approved the recommendation of the Commissioner.[22] The interest taken by the Provincial Government aroused the interest of the Government of India also, and it became serious in

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its attempts at alleviating the distress of the people. When Sir Charles Metcalfe, the Lieutenant Governor of the North-Western Provinces, retired on December 31, 1837, Lord Auckland, the Governor-General, personally took over the administration of the province and assumed charge of the famine relief operations. He decided to continue and also strengthen and revitalize the operations started by Sir Charles Metcalfe.

The efforts of the Government towards famine relief were spread in three district directions.[23]

Firstly, on the recommendation of the Sadr Board of Revenue, the Government entirely suspended the realization of the first *kist* or instalment of the land revenue and made the next two instalments very light, throwing the weight of the land revenue collections on the fourth quarterly kist.[24] At the same time a large portion of land revenue was remitted, while another lump sum remained uncollected. Lord Auckland recorded in one of his Minutes that he "authorized" the writing off the account of balances caused by the famine and ascertained to be irrecoverable, to the amount of Rs. 48,71,154, of which Rs. 43,19,094 are remissions of the demand for 1245 *fasli* and Rs. 5,52, 062 of that for *fasli* year 1246.[25] In short, about half of the land revenue of the area was remitted by the Government in one or the other way.[26]

Secondly, the Government made provisions for the employment of the able -bodied destitutes on works of public utility. Sir Charles Metcalfe, the Lieutenant-Governor, started some works, which can be termed as public utility works in modern phraseology, in order to provide employment to many sufferers.[27] In the beginning the size and volume of public works was restricted, but as the distress increased the Magistrates of the badly affected districts were empowered to grant employment to any number of destitutes and to any amount of work, which they thought necessary to give adequate relief to the people. They were advised to care more for the relief given and the number of people supported by the public works than for any expectation of a profitable return for the capital invested on them.[28] About Rs. 17,68,702 were spent on relief works of this nature, bringing the total contribution of the Government towards relief

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to Rs. 66,40,056-2-6 pies. Lord Auckland was of the opinion that "the actual cost of this calamity to the finances of the States will be certainly not short of one crore of rupees, and may probably even exceed that sum.[29]

Thirdly, the Government made it a point to preserve the peace and maintain law and order in the country and thus protect the trade in food-grains and other edible commodities in the days of their scarcity. Stocks of food-grains hoarded by the village and city capitalists, the loads of grains being carried by the *banjaras* from place to place and the boats laden with grains were in danger of being plundered by the starving people who were always in search of food. Bands of plunderers were formed by these desperate masses, and they began to disturb the peace of the province. As soon as occurrences of this nature came to the knowledge of the Government, it authorized the Commissioners of the Divisions to strengthen the police force sufficiently which could punish the unsocial elements and plunderers and maintain public peace.[30] The result of this step of the Government was that a large number of anti-social elements were called to book, and many of them were punished with imprisonment. For instance the jails in Rohilkhand became full of convicts of this nature.[31] The Aligarh and Farrukhabad districts also suffered from outbursts of the starving people who took to plunder and dacoity. The Government did its best to maintain peace and the safety of life and property of the merchants and the rich section of the population.

IV.

The distress and misery of the famine-stricken people was relieved to a considerable extent by public charity and the private efforts of humanitarians. The role of the Agra Relief Society, a voluntary organization started at Agra to alleviate the sufferings of the people, was a memorable one indeed. "The benevolence of all classes throughout India poured in subscriptions[32] and many sub-committees were formed to make use of the money to the best advantage. A Charity Hospital was established at Agra by Sir Charles Metcalfe, the Lieutenant-Governor, from his own purse. It was located at Nai-ki-Mandi, and Civil Surgeon Duncan, its incharge,

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was assisted by Dr. Ganeshi Lal.[33] In this Hospital, which depended mainly on public charity for its running expenditure, medicine and attention were given free and the indoor patients were given "sooji, sago, milk and every other necessary nutrient.[34] The five wards of the hospital accommodated in May 1838 as many as 1,300 sick and 400 lame and blind.[35] The Agra Relief Society also maintained an Asylum, which was shifted from Nai-ki-Mandi to Bluntsganj in April 1838. The Poor House department attached to the Asylum distributed food to the needy—"to an adult one cake (bread) weighing a quarter of a seer, to a child half a cake." Those who did not receive bread were given money-four pice per adult, five pice per woman with a child at breast and one pice per child.[36] The Society rendered great service to the famine-stricken people in all these ways and elicited praise from the Governor-General[37] also besides all other people.

V.

Relief work organized by the Government and the private enterprise, however, was not adequate to prevent and mitigate the sufferings of a large section of the population. It was reported by the Board of Revenue in their Administration Report for 1841-1842 that the arrears of land revenue were increasing annually in the Mathura and Farrukhabad districts. The famine of 1837-1838 combined with "a succession of bad seasons has prevented it (Mathura district) from feeling the beneficial effects which might have been expected from a moderate settelemnt.(38)

The Allahabad Division and the Kanpur and Fatehpur districts were equally badly hit. "The drought was grievously felt in the former (Kanpur) district, and the central and western parganas are still (in 1841-1842) experiencing its blighting effects," while the Fatehpur district was suffering from the over assessment of land revenue during the settelment made by D. Timins.(39) The famine of 1837-1838 was so fierce and its aftermath so far-reaching that even in the Administration Report for 1842-1843 the Commissioner of the Agra Division stated that "Further relief, however, to some considerable extent is still needed by many Agra *mahals*," that the cultivators in the Mainpuri district were not ready to enter into engagements

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with theGovernment for the cultivation of the lands at the prevailing high rates of land revenue assessments and that further remissions of revenue to the tune of about Rs. 24,000 must be made in the Mathura district.(40) It took a long time, therefore, for the people to forget the famous *Chauranve*, the famine of 1894 Vikrami Samvat. Another reason for the long remembrance of the famine of *Chauranve* seems to be the fact that famine did not re-visit the province upto 1860, when again the area around Agra and Delhi was severely affected. In the present context, however, the importance of this famine of 1837-1838 lies in the fact that it resulted in the formulation of a very important policy whereby the Government accepted it as one of its responsibilities to offer proper help and facilities to the people in times of famines and other natural calamities.

VI.

It would be too much, however, to expect more than what the Government of the Agra Province did during the famine of 1837-1838. The experiences gained during the future famines and the one under study led to the gradual evolution of the famine policy of the Government of India. The evolution was the result of the recommendations of various Commissions of enquiry appointed after every severe famine in the country. The first enquiry was held by Colonel Baird-Smith after the famine of 1861, but it led to no practical results. The second enquiry, presided over by Sir George Campbell, was ordered after the Orissa famine of 1866-1867, while the third,persided over by the engineer General Richard Strachey, after famine of 1877-1878 in the North-Western Provinces, the Punjab and Rajputana, reported in 1880. It carried the recommendations of Campbell one step further and laid down the preventive and protective measures against such calamities. From 1883, Rs. 1,50,000 were set apart annually for the Famine Relief Insurance Fund and a Famine Code was promulgated that year. The beginning of all this was made in the Agra Province during the famous *Chauranve* famine.

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29. Home Department, Public Proceedings, No. 2 of March 11, 1838.
30. Home Department, Public Proceedings, No. 4 of January 24, 1838.
31. Auckland to the Court of Directors on February 13, 1838, vide Home Department, Miscellaneous Records, No. 1 of 1838.
32. Report of the Agra Relief Society, pages 3-4.
33. Report of the Agra Relief Society, page 12.
34. Report of the Agra Relief Society, page 10.
35. Report of the Agra Relief Society, page 10.
36. Report of the Agra Relief Society, page 9.
37. Home Department, Public Proceedings, No. 2 of March 1840
38. H. M. Elliot to the North-Western Provinces Government, No. 129 dated March 24, 1843, vide the Board of Revenue Proceedings, No. 37 of March 24, 1843.
39. H. M. Elliot to the N. W. Provinces Government, vide the Board of Revenue Proceedings, No. 37 of March 24, 1843.
40. Davidson to the Board of Revenue, No. 260 of August 31, 1843, vide Board of Revenue Proceedings, No. 31 of September 20, 1844.

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THE OUT-BREAK OF THE FIRST ANGLO-BURMESE WAR ON THE CHITTAGONG FRONTIER

By

Dr. Nandalal Chatterji.

On the eve of the out-break of the first Anglo-Burmese War, the eastern borders of Bengal were more or less unguarded on account of the want of foresight and care on the part of the British authorities. The Chittagong frontier wes left with no more than five companies of Sepoy infantry, and a police force called the Chittagong provincial battalion. Sylhet was in the care of four companies of the Rangpur local battalion, and Rangpur itself was guarded by the headquarters of that corps. stationed at Jamalpur on the Brahmaputra. The borders on the Assam side were protected by two companies of the Dinapore local battalion, with some gun-boats: Only five companies of regular infantry were posted at Dacca, until the latter part of 1823, when an additional five companies had to be transferred from the cantonment of Berhampore. The military defence thus was most inadequate. Whatever force was available was scattered, and it was hardly in a position to stop an organized enemy offensive. There was no fortress or fortified position along the Brahmaputra from the Naaf in the south to Goalpara in the north. The ill-guarded frontiers of Bengal must have been a standing incitement to the Burmese expansion in Assam. To make matters worse, the authorities at Calcutta had very little topographical knowledge of the hill regions of Assam, and little or no stastical information about the people and the resources of the neighbouring areas. Thus, when the Calcutta authorities were involved in the first Burma War of 1824, they were almost ignorant of the eastern terrain on which it was to be prosecuted, and equally unaware of the resources of the enemy. And, the whole frontier was practically defenceless.

It is therefore hardly surprising that the initial arrangements for the prosecution of the war in Assam, Sylhet and Cachar were wave-

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ring and inefficient, and every operation had to be conducted with insufficient and unsatisfactory resources. It was because of the semi-defenceless state of Bengal that there was alarm even for the safety of Calcutta, and the Commander-in-Chief had to improvise hastily a gun-boat establishment or flotilla which was to cruise on the salt lake, east of Calcutta, and guard the river barrier from the Sunderbans or Delta to Dacca ! In due course, this flotilla was apportioned to the forces about to penetrate into Assam, Cachar and Arracan.

The military operations on the North-Eastern frontier were prosecuted from several points in 1824-25, viz., from Goalpara into Assam: from Sylhet into Cachar; and from Chittagong into Arracan. The objectives of these campaigns were, *firstly*, to complete the conquest of Assam, *secondly*, to reinforce the British forces in Burma, *thirdly*, to create a diversion inside Burma from the side of Cachar and Arracan, for which purpose, upwards of 30,000 men, of all arms, were concentrated in Bengal, and *lastly* to secure the Chittagong frontier and counteract the Burmese moves in Arracan.

From the contemporary despatches and unofficial reports, it is possible to re-construct connected and comprehensive day-to-day account of the main campaigns of 1824-5. For a full account of the campaigns, one has to read, besides the contemporary journals and newspapers, the official papers as follows:— Bengal Secret and Political Consultations, Foreign Department, Volumes of Correspondence on Arakan; Parliamentary Papers relating to the first Burma War (Session 1825), etc. This summary account would throw some light on the emergence of the North-Eastern Frontier of Bengal as a vital link in the chain of its defences, and also on the inefficient prosecution of the war in the early stages on account of the utter mismanagement of Lord Amherst and Sir Edward Paget.

The quarrel between the British and the Burmese in 1823, with regard to the right to the island of Shapari ("Shahpuree") had ended in its occupation by a small force commanded by an Indian officer from the Chittagong police corps. A small naval force was equipped to interpose between that island and the Burmese positions on the Naaf and at Mungdoo. Chittagong which is at a distance of

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140 miles from the Naaf was re-inforced by the transfer of a force from Dacca. The seizure and deportation to Arracan, on the 21st of Janury 1824, of Mr. CHEW, who had been invited on shore to a conference with the Burmese was an act of hostility,and so reinforcements were ordered to Chittagong. A local MUG levy was recruited, and was placed under the command of Capt. PRINGLE on the 29th of April. The entire force, regular and irregular, numbered about 3,000 men; but of these the small detail of artillery and the regulars were alone to be depended on, and these were no more than a half of the total number. There was a detachment at Ramoo, about 100 miles from Chittagong, and within a few miles of the Burmese outposts on the Naaf. Early in May the Burmese crossed the Naaf with about2,000 men, and took up a position fourteen miles distant from Ramoo.

These operations brought to light the defenceless state of the South-Eastern frontier of Bengal, and demonstrated a lamentable lack of foresight in the part of the Bengal authorities. The measures of defence were totally inefficient and inadequate. The rainy season alone saved the British position in Bengal, and it was purely providential. There is no doubt that the British authorities committed error after error, and the lessons of hill and jungle warfare during the Nepal War were forgotten with disastrous results. These lessons were learnt a fresh now. The authorities found, *firstly*, that the art of stockading must be thoroughly acquired,*secondly*,that the advantages of position when held by a foe must not be despised, *thirdly*, that an engineer corps with artillery parks is absolutely necessary in hill warfare, *fourthly*, that the troops on the frontiers can be reduced only at grave risk, and, *lastly*, that the knowledge of the theatre ofoperations must be fairly accurate and full.

A study of the campaign on the Chittagong frontier brings out certain facts. The knowledge of the terrain was imperfect. The supply arrangements were faulty. Troops were inadequate. Transport was inefficient. The rains made the conditions difficult for the British troops. Coolies were not easily available. The hill-tribes gave little or no aid, and there was a shortage of irregulars and scouts. Road-building was impossible within a short time. Sickness was

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much too common and a large number of men had to be sent to hospital, if not to the grave. It was throughout a big problem to feed the invalids. When all is said, the fact remains that the mangement of the operations was unsatisfactory throughout. It was only the inability of the Burmese to prosectue the war farther after their initial successes that saved Bengal from a serious invasion.

THE GRAND REBEL IN ANDHRA AGAINST THE BRITISH RAJ-SRI ALLURI SITARAMARAJU ? (A PHASE IN THE FREEDOM MOVEMENT)

By Shri Y. Vittal

One of the heroes of Andhra who strained every nerve to contribute their mite to deliver the country from British domination was a noble kshatriya Sri Alluri Sitaramaraju. In the days of Non-cooperation and Civil Disobedience on the part of the Indian National Congress leaders were thoroughly dissatisfied with the constitutional reforms awarded to India by the British Governnient. The Congress was bent upon non-violent struggle to achieve independence; but Sri Sitaramaraju saw the futility of such a means and adopted violence as the weapon by which he hoped to achieve independence, eschewing foreign domination. For two years from 1922 to 1924 he started his Fituri and fought against the British Raj in the Gudem Agency tracts of the Godavary and Vizagapatam districts. He was about 25 years old when he took up arms against the British Raj. He sacrificed his life for the cause of freedom and he was only 27 years old when he died.

Though his activities were not directly connected with the Congress, the Government themselves attribured the rebellion of Sitaramaraju to the subversive influence of the Civil Disobedience Movement. Tne Koyas and the Savaras of the agency tracts had a good leader in him even as the Marathas had Shivaji. Like

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Rana Pratap he fought against the alien domination to the last ditch.

This paper deals with his activities, after a short survey of his early life, and how the British Government dealt with him. The information has been gleaned from Biographical works in Telugu by Sri Ponnaluri Radhakrishnamurti and Sri M. Krishnarao who were contemporaneous with Raju's movement. Also contemporary journals in Telugu and English have been consulted. An attempt has been made to give a connected account referring also to the Government records. Besides, there is an account of local tradi tion and Sri Raju has become an epic hero, the theme for several ballads and dramas. One of his associates Sri Gamu Mallu Dora is now a Member of Parliament. Sri Raju's personal qualities have been admired by the Indian leaders like Mahatma Gandhi though they differ from him in his method.

AN IMPERIAL PASS-PORT ISSUED IN DECEMBER, 1858.

By

Shri D. B. Mahajan.

Although the Indian Political Revolution of 1857 was almost completely put down by the British rulers and even though the historic proclamation of the Queen Empress Victoria was issued in August, 1858, the political and social life of the people in the country continued to be unsettled and disturbed. Strict restrictions and checks were placed upon the communications and movements of the common people. A system of issuing Pass-ports appears to have been adopted to save the travellers from the harrasments from the disturbing elements and the administrative officers' e. g. the Chawkidars, Thanedars and the Tahsildars etc.

Here is one of such authentic and original Pass-ports dated the 9th December, 1858, bearing the signature and the official seal of the then officiating Governor-General of India. The document

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throws fresh light on the political and social conditions prevailing in India in the years 1858-59.

CAPTURE OF SALSETTE BY THE ENGLISH IN 1774

By

Shri Sailendra Nath Sen.

This paper, based on published and unpublished English and Marathi materials, gives an authentic account of the capture of Salsette by the English. Anand Rao Ram, the commandant of the fort, defended heroically but unassisted by men and materials he had to capitulate to the superior forces of the English. The Marathas displayed lamentable lack of unity and cohesion in not sending timely help to Salsette. The English plea was that they occupied Salsette in order to prevent it from falling into the hands of the Portuguese. Warren Hastings considered the capture of Salsette as an act of political necessity and the Court of Directors also approved its occupation by the English.

THE WAHABI CONSPIRACY IN HYDERABAD (1838-1840)

By

Shri Nani Gopal Chaudhuri,

Herat, a frontier of Afghanistan, was besieged by the Persians in November 1837 at the instigation of the Russians. Lord Palmerston who had been suffering from Russophobia scented something wrong in this siege of Herat. The fear of Palmerston was further increased when Dost Muhammad, Amir of Afghanistan, received a Russian agent in his court in 1838. Lord Auckland, the Governor-

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General of India also shared the fear of Lord Palmerston. Their fear of imaginary Russian advance towards Afghanistan led to the outbreak of the First Anglo-Afghan War in 1839. This Russophobia and the absence of a vast nnmber of English troops who had been sent to Afghanistan encouraged the Wahabis of India to indulge in a conspiracy against the British government. The aim of this conspiracy was the subversion of the British rule in India; and Hyderabad became the centre of this conspiracy with Mulariz-ud-daulah, the brother of Nizam Nasir-ud-daulah, as its leader.

The existence of this conspiracy was brought to light by Mr. Stonehouse, the Magistrate of Nellore. In the month of October, 1837 it was found that many persons from the northern parts of India as well as from Kabul, Egypt and Persia were traversing the Presidency of Madras[1]. In the month of November, 1838 a Sikh in indigent circumstances arrived at Nellore where he remained unobserved for some days; his movements having, however, excited the suspicion of the police, he was apprehended and brought before Mr.Stonehouse. He was put in prison. Mr. Stonehouse instructed one of his confidential servants to seduce the prisoner into a disclosure of the object of his visit to that part of India. This ruse had its effect. The servant of Mr. Stonehouse gradually gained the confidence of the prisoner who one day dosclosed the real intenton of his visit to the Madras Presidency. The Sikh, after abusing the English and praising the Persians and the Russians disclosed to his pretended friend that he was an emissary of the Jodhpur Chief and gave hint about the existence of 'a coalition of some Indian princes, which he stated existed at that moment for the purpose of avowed hostility to the British Government[2].

This led to the arrest of seven other persons whose movements had aroused suspicion in the mind of the police. All of them were Muhammadans and one of them was in the service of the Nawab of Bhopal. From the depositions of these persons and the nature of the documents found with them it was suspected that a confederacy hostile to the British interest existed and that the persons arrested were enissaries engaged in obtaining information. There were two classes of emissaries. One class of emissaries were ordinary men

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and they were employed to collect general and local information. The other class of emissaries were men of rank and they were sent to ascertain the feelings and obtain the co-operation of the Indian princes. Certain news-writers were stationed near the Krishna which formed the boundary of the Hyderabad territory and to them the emissaries carried their information. The news-writers in their turn forwarded the information to Mubariz-ud-daulah, the brother of the Nizam Nasir-ud-daulah[3].

From the depositions of the emissaries it appears that a wide-spread conspiracy against the British Government, in which some persons of eminance were involved, was being hatched. The arrested emissaries who made disclosure of the conspiracy, were men of capability if not of rank. But the trustworthiness of the depositions was greatly vitiated by gross exaggerations and hence they were receivd and acted upon with great caution. Moreover the Government were not in possession of 'that direct evidence which amounts to a legal degree of proof in any case'. The parties concerned were aware of the necessity of abstaining from written communications. The few documents which were found with the emissaries or were procured contained general principles of Wahabism and exhortation to the Muhammadans to drive the 'infidels' by which they meant the English in India.[4] A letter from the Sharif of Macca to the address of the Nawab of Kurnool was seized from an Arabian emissary. This letter was not intended for the Nawab in particular but for all Muhammadans. It contained an earnest appeal which aimed at exciting the religions passions of the Muhammadns in a common cause.[5] Perhaps the Wahabis used some kind of cypher for communicating information. Such a communication was seized from the Sikh emissary of the Raja of Jodhpur.[6] But as the key to the cypher could not be procured the meaning of the communication could not be divulged.

No doubt there were many exaggerations in the disclosures made by emissaries, who had been arrested at Nellore but there were some particulars which were common in their disclosures. Some of these particulars were corroborated by the facts revealed in the investigation carried on in Hyderabad by Malcolm. From these particulars

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an idea of the Wahabi conspiracy can be gained. It was expected by the Wahabis of India that the Russian and the Persian forces would appear on the Indus and on their arrival the Wahabis and some Indian princes would rise simultaneously and the important posts in the company's territories would be seized. It may sound strange that the Wahabis counted much on the support of the Hindu Rajas of Satara and Jodhpur. The Sikh emissary of Jodhpur disclosed that any information received by Mubariz-ud-daulah from his emissaries was transmitted to the Maratha Raja of Satara who communicated the same to the Raja of Jodhpur.[7] Perhaps the Wahabis wanted to enlist the support of these two Hindu princes who harboured hostile designs against the British. It may be mentioned here that the incapacity and the misrule of Raja Man Singh of Jodhpur compelled the Company's government to interfere in the administration of Jodhpur. In the year 1834 the banditi of Jodhpur excited by Man Singh attacked and plundered the residence of a British medical officer. In order to chastise the banditi and Man Singh a British force was assembled at Ajmere. In September, 1839 a British force actually occupied Jodhpur for five months. The Raja of Satara had been carrying on correspondence with the Portuguese government at Goa, in the hope of winning their armed support for a combined attack on the British power. For this purpose he corresponded with Appa Sahib, the banished Raja of Berar, who had taken refuse with the ruler of Jodhpur. He also made treasonable overtures to the Indian officers and men of Sepoy regiment of the Company stationed in Bombay. As is well known for this treasonable act he was deposed in August 1839, under a proclamation issued by Lord Auckland. It is probable that the Wahabis were trying to take advantage of the discontent of these two Hindu states and enlist their support[8] in their design against the British government. If we are to believe the words of the Sikh emissary of Jodhpur, 'the Satara Raja (amied) at the Paishwaship and re-establishment of the Mahratta Dominion in its pristine state, and Moobariz-ood-dowlah (was) to be the Soobadar of the Deccan in the room of his brother.... Sattara Rajah (was)to attack different posts in the Mahratta country, and Moobariz-ood-dowlah (was) destined to play the same part

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in the Hyderabad country." The emissary of the Nawab of Bhopal confessed that "the Bhopaul Nawab (was) on the most freindly understanding with him.[9] That the Nawab of Bhopal was connected with Wahabi conspiracy was corroborated by the enquiry made in Hyderabad.

Two obstacles stood in the way of Mubariz-ud-daulah's achieving his object. One was that Mubariz-ud-dawlah had no troops and the other obstacle was the 'want of a chief of sufficient rank in the Carnatic to be entrusted with the conduct of an insurrection in that part of the country.[10] Mubariz-ud-dawalah wanted to remove the first obstacle by tampering with Indian troops of the subsidiary force, stationed at Sikanderabad, and by overpowering the Hyderabad army. As for the removal of the second obstacle he sent emissaries to the Carnatic to sound the different Muhammadan Chiefs. The Nawabs of Kurnool and the jagirdar of Udaigiri had agreed to come to the help of the Wahabis. The frot of Udaigiri had been selected by the Wahabis as the fittest place for laying up stores and rice for the army[11]. It was settled that 'after overpowering the Hyderabad force' the insurrectionary army was then to proceed to Madras for which purpose it had been deemed essential to form a depot at Odeeagerry (Udaigiri), where the inhabitants were almost entirely Muhammadans.[12] If India could be recovered from the English it was to be tributary to the king of Persia and Mubariz-ood-daulah was to be the Subadar of the Deccan in the place of his brother.[13]

Though no direct evidence amounting to legal proof of the conspiracy could be procured from the emissaries, one can arrive at the following conclusions:—

Fisrt , a confederacy inimical to British interests in India had been planned and partially formed, though no overt act of hostility had been committed

Secondly a great suspicion was aroused regarding Mubariz-ud-daulah, the brother of the Nizam, as the leading character in the confederacy acting under the influence of certain intriguing advisers near his person.

Thirdly, neither the Nizam nor his minister Chandulal was in any way concerned with the confederacy.

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Fourthly, Khan-i-Alam Khan, the gradson of Mahafuz Khan (the elder brother of Walajah) by his mother's side, Abbas Ali Khan, Jagirdar of Udaigiri and his son,and the Nawab of Kurnool were in some way or other implicated in the conspiracy.

Fifthly, none of the Hindu Chiefs in the Madras presidency had any part in the confederacy..[14]

On receiving information from the Madras government about Mubariz-ud-daulah's connection with the Wahabi conspiracy, Fraser, the Resident of Hyderabad,entrusted his assistant Captain Malcolm with the task of adopting such measures as he might deem necessary for gathering information regarding the design of Mubariz-ud-dualah. Malcolm engaged secret agents for the purpose and the information thus gained corroborated in the main the particulars elicited from persons arrested at Nellore. Moreover, the enquiries made in Hyderabad threw some new light on the conspiracy. It was gathered from the enquiries that Mubariz-ud-daulah was under such an influence of one Maulavi Saleem, native of Lucknow and supposed to be one of the disciples of the famous Wahabi leader Sayid Ahmed, 'as to induce him (Mubarkiz-ud-dualah) openly to embrace the tenets of Wahabism! Saleem acquired so complete an ascendancy over the mind of Mubariz-ud-daulah that the entire management of his affairs was left in his hands.[15] 'Under the pretext of sending out maulavis to preach the doctrines of Wahabism and to convert proselytes, Mubariz-ud-daulah had been carying on political intrigues with some of the Indian princes and important persons residing in different parts of India. It was believed that Mubariz-ud-daulah was in communication with Nasir-ud-din and other Muhammadans of high rank in Sind. Nasir-ud-din was the leader of the Wahabis in Sind and his activities in the early part of the year 1838 had attracted the attention of the Company's government. The latter cautioned the Amirs of Sind about the activities of Wahabis but it was suspected that some of the Amirs themselves afforded them secret support. It was found on enquiry that Mubariz-ud-daulah was in communication with the Nawabs of Tonk, Bhawalpur and one of the Amirs of Sind. It was believed that his agents even visited Calcutta where, it was suspected, the tenets of Wahabism have been widely disseminated.' The Wahabis

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in India were under the guidance and control of several religious chiefs or Khalifas who had been selected by their followers on account of their sanctity and local influence. Nasir-ud-din of Sind was such a leader of the Wahabis. Mubariz-ud-daulah wanted to be the acknowledged head of the Wahabis, but previous to assuming that position it was necessary that the consent of the Khalifas, especially of Nasir-ud-din, was necessary. By the time Malcolm was engaged in the investigation, the Khalifas had agreed to the assumption by Mubariz-ud-daulah of titles indicative of his being the acknowledged head of the Wahabis in India and it was believed that Mubariz-ud-daulah had a seal engraved with the title of "Ress-ul-muslimeen.' Malcolm's enquiry also revealed that the maulavis of the Wahabi sect had been engaged in making proselytes from among the Indian soldiers of the subsidiary force stationed at Sikandarbad and that a Hindustani poem calling on the Muhammadans in general to carry on a war of extermination against the Kafirs was being widely distributed among them[16].

The Nizam and his minister were quite ignorant of what was going on while Malcolm was engaged in gathering information regarding Mubariz-ud-daulah's connection with the Wahabis. But the Resident abstained from adopting any decisive measures until Mubariz-ud-daulah caused a seal to be engraved in which he assumed the title 'Ress-ul-muslimeen' (Head of the Muhammedans). He thought it would be improper to allow the Nizam to remain in ignorance of the conspiracy in which his brother had taken a prominent part. When the Nizam and his minister were informed of the activities of Mubariz-ud-daulah by the Resident they sought the advice of he latter. The Resident advised him that it was of primary importance that 'the letters which Mubariz-ud-daulah had been in habit receiving for some months past, to-gether with his newly engraved seal, and certain papers to which the impression of this seal was known to be affixed, should be seized,' The minister proposed that the place in which Mubariz-ud-daulah was residing should be surrounded with troops so as to prevent the escape of any person from it and that some officers of the Nizam should enter into the palace to seize the papers that might be found there. The Nizam agreed to the proposal of

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surrounding the palace but disagreed to the proposal of seizing the papers. For, he apprehended that if any attempt was made to seize the papers, Mubariz-ud-daulah would resist and that in the conflict which might ensue, he would perhaps lose his life. Ultimately the Nizam's proposal was carried into effect; Mubariz-ud-daulah was imprisoned in the front of Golkunda and his dangerous associates were confined. It was estimated by Fraser that at the time of imprisonment of Mubariz-ud-daulah, there were nearly twenty thousand Wahabis in the state of Hyderabad.

On the basis of depositions made by the arrested persons at Nellore and the enquiry made by Malcolm at Hyderabad, Lord Auckland opined, "I entirely agree with him (Maddock, Secretary to the Government in Foreign and Political Department) in regarding the result of these enquiries as totally insufficient to warrant the belief of the existence of a general conspiracy against the British power in India. The loose tales and wild exaggerations of the obscure individuals arrested at Nellore are in this respect deserving of little attention. There is some direct evidence of local plots and combinations of a mixed religious and political character among the Muhammadans at Hyderabad and to the Southward, who profess the tenets of a peculiar and I believe an increasing sect. The principal parties in these proceedings ought to be carefully watched and overt act of turbulence or disaffection or otherwise dangerous tendency ought to be promptly and vigorously repressed. Full authority for the purpose has been given to the officiating Resident at Hyderabad in regard to the Nawab Mubariz-ud-daulah, the principal leader of the party, and the Madras Government may be empowered to adopt the measures which may be thought necessary for punishing misconduct or checking unauthorized equipments on the part of such chiefs as the Nawab of Kurnool or the Jageerdar of Woodiagherry.

I am not one of those who believe that there exist any universal and active spirit of aversion in India to the British Supremacy.[18]

When Fraser got proof of Mubariz-ud-daulah's complicity in the conspiracy, he proposed to the Nizam the necessity of holding an investigation into the conduct of the persons apprehended on the charge of having been engaged in seditious dessign. He wanted to

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institute of Board of Commission consisting of both English officers of the East India Company and the Muhammedan Sardars if Hyderabad for the purpose on the following grounds among others:

First, the offences that were to constitute the subject of inquiry had been committed in Hyderabad. Moreover the Nizam's brother and some of his associates, who were subjects of Hyederabad, were involved in the conspiracy. Under the circumstances the Nizam might have 'objected to an investigation in which the officers of his Government had no part.'

Secondly, the people of Hyderabad, nay the Muhammedans of India would have looked with distrust upon the findings of the committee if the President had proposed to establish a committee consituted of British members only, to investigae into this conspiracy.

The investigation of the commission confirmed what had already been disclosed by the inquiry of Malcolm. Moreover, it was ascertained by the Board of Commission that Mubariz-ud-daulhah had been 'deeply engaged in the treasonous conspiracy with the Nawab of Kurnool, and had attempted to open negotiations with the Nawab of Tonk, the Nawab of Rampur, and many other Muhammedan Princes and Chiefs, with hostile intent against the British Government. It was also proved during the investigation that Mubariz-ud-daulah with the help of Wahabi Maulavis, who visited the lines of the Company's Indian Regiment at Sikanderabad, and in some cases resided there, 'had been tampering with the loyalty of Muhammedan Sepoys.[19]

The commission's verdict regarding the part played by Mubariz-ud-daulah and his Wahabi associates in the conspiracy is quoted below:

"With the evidence before us we find it extremely difficult to come to any definite conclusion as to the exact nature of the designs contemplated by Mubariz-ud-daulah, their scope and tendency, or the mode in which they were to be effected but sufficient has, we apprehend, been brought to light in course of our enquiry in connection with his correspondence witn the Jageerdar of Wooddeagerry (Udaigiri) and others, the attempt of his agents to create a spirit of discontent among the Company's troops and the influence he has established with the Wahabi leaders to warrant a belief approaching

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almost to conviction that the prince has lent himself to project inimical to the interests of the British Government and the tranquility of India, and that time and opportunity were alone wanting for their being carried into execution.[20]

Even before the establihsmnet of the Board of Commission Fraser had come to the following conclusion. "I think it will appear that if absolute proof of treason has not been obtained, there is yet abundant ground for coming to the conclusion that a very extended spirit of disaffection towards the British Government has prevailed, and that Mubariz-ud-daulah and other native chiefs have been engaged in designs of a dangerous nature, which if not detected and provided against, would no doubt have been exhibited sooner or later in overt acts, more especially in the event of our armies having met with any sensible check in the recent campaign beyond the Indus. " [21]

After the submission of the proceedings of the Board of Commission to the Government of India, Fraser recommended that Mubariz-ud-daulah and his associates in custody should be detained as state prisoners, "until the prefect tranquillity of the country as well as the cessation of the external war' should admit of their being liberated.[22] The Nizam sent Mubariz-ud-daulah to the fort of Golkunda where he remained a prisoner till his death. Some of the Wahabi associates of Mubariz-ud-daulah were kept in confinement.

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1. Sec. Con.—12th June, 1839 -No 15
2. Sec. Con—29th June, 1840—No. 93—para 10.
3. Sec. Con—12th June, 1839—No.15—paras 14 and 15.
4. Sec. Con.—12th June, 1839—No.15, paras 58-62.
5. For Sec. Con—12th June, 1839—No. 25.
6. This cypher was seized from the emissary of the Raja of Jodhpur. (Sec. Con—12th June, 1839—No.15. App. B).

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The figures in the cypher were written in Persians.

81169	169161	161911	616961
11696	116966	161911	116961
11696	116911	169116	1691161
112116	11611211	991169	169611

(Signed) J. V. Stonehouse,
Magistrate, Nellore.

7. For Sec. Con—12th June, 1839—No.24.
8. Earl of Auckland (pp. 30-32) Tratter.
9. For. Sec. Con—12th June, 1839—No. 24
10. For. Sec. Con— 12th June, 1839 —No. 25
11. For. Sec. Con— 12th June, 1839 —No. 25
12. Fov. Sec. Con—12th June, 1839—No. 24
13. Fov. Sec. Con—12th June, 1839—No. 25
14. Sec. Con—12th June, 1839—No. 15—para 65
15. Sec. Con—12th June, 1839—No. 15—App. P.
16. Fov. Sec. Con—12th June, 1839—No. 25
17. Sec. Con—12th June, 1839—No. 23
18. Sec. Con—2th June, 1839—No. 12.
19. Memoir and Correspondence of Fraser-pp. 61 and 62.
20. Sec. Con—29th June, 1840 No. 93—para172.
21. From Fraser to the Secretary to the Govt. of India, 28th May, 1840—Sec. Con—29th June, 1840 No. 92.
22. Sec. Con—29th June1840—No. 92 (para 6).
23. Ibid.

BURMA THROUGH BRITISH EYES

By

Dr. Anil Chandra Banerjee.

The purpose of this paper is to draw attention to the reports of British envoys and agents sent to Burma towards the close of the

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18th and the early years of the 19th century. Captain Michael Symes, who was sent to Burma in 1795 by Sir John Shore, submitted a report to the Supreme Gevernment which formed the basis of his book, *An Account of an Embassy to the Kingdom of Ava sent by Governor-General of India in 1795,* which was published in 1800. This book gave for the first time detailed information about the religion, government. social system, language, geography and economic condition of Burma under the Alaungpaya dynasty. This interesting and important volume should be re-printed along with relevant extracts from Symes' official reports preserved in the National Archives of India.

Under the arrangement negotiated with the Burmese Government by Symes, Captain Hiram Cox was sent in 1796 as British Resident. His report formed the basis of his book, *Journal of a Residence in the Burmhan Empire,* which was published in 1827. His description of Burma differed considerably from that of Symes. His book also should be reprinted along with relevant extracts from his official reports preserved in the National Archives of India.

In 1802 Symes was deputed a second time to the Court of Ava by Lord Wellesley. The official reports sent by him as well as his *Journal,* were utilised by the present writer in 1943 in his book, *The Eastern Frontier of British India.* His *Journal* has recently been edited and published (*Michael Symes-Jonrnal of his Second Embassy to the Court of Ava in* 1802, edited by Dr. D. G. E. Hall)

Lt. John Canning who accompanied Symes to Burma in 1802, was sent to Rangoon as British Agent by Lord Wellesley in 1803, and again by Lord Minto in 1809. His official reports preserved in the National Archives of India, which were utilised by the present writer in his above-mentioned book, deserve publication.

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A STUDY OF EUROPEANS' INSCRIPTION IN DELHI (1782-1857)

By

Sri Krishan lal Sachdeva

Inscriptions are an important source of Ancient and Medieval Indian history but their importance in the study of Modern Indian History has hardly been realized so far. In this paper an attempt has been made to study about 200 inscriptions of this period in Delhi and its suburbs. Their study has revealed a very interesting and a connected political, social, economic and religious history of Delhi during this period. *Various kinds of Inscriptions.* For the sake of convenience, we can subdivide the inscriptions under the following headings.

I Commemorative Inscriptions. i-Patparganj inscription refers to the battle of Delhi, fought on the 11th September 1803 near that spot which led to the British conquest of Delhi Territory.

ii. Magazine Inscription, opposite old Delhi main post office, commemorates the blowing up of the Magazine by nine English men on the 11th May 1857.

iii. Telegraph Office oblesik commemorates the final dispatch of the telegraphic message conveying the news of breaking out of Mutiny in Delhi on the 11th March 1857 which in the words of Sir Robert Montgomery saved (the British empire) India.

iv. Kashmere Gate Inscription commemorates the final assault on Delhi on the 14th September 1857.

V. Nicholson's inscription reminds us of the spot where General Nicholson during the assault of the 14th September was mortally wounded. There is also one statuete of Nicholson which bears no inscription.

vi. The Statue of Sir Alexander Taylor commemorates his being mortally wounded on the 14th September 1857.

vii. Tablets in the St. James Church remind us of the death of

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many Europeans on the 11th May 1857 and during the seige of Delhi.

viii. Memorial Crosses in old cemetry near Kashmere Gate Post Office (main) and Rajpura graveyard pay homage to the memory of those who have were killed during the Mutiny.

ix. Mutiny Memorial was erected by the British Government to commemorate the memory of the Mutiny in Delhi.

Donetive Inscriptions. Colonel James Skimer built St. James Church at his own expense. near Kashmere Gate.

Inscriptions on Tombs, There are eight cemetries of this period in Delhi City.

1. Deremao cemetry contains some tombs of the Maratha period. It is a non English European Cemetry.

2. Daryaganj cemetry contains the tombs of certain un-named soldiers who were killed in the second Maratha war.

3. Old cemetry near Kashmere Gate post office contains tombs ranging from 1803 to 1857.

4. Rajpura cemetry contains mostly tombs of British Officers who were killed during the battles of Delhi in 1857.

5. Kashmere Gate cemetry contains some tombs (including that of General Nicholson) killed during the siege of Delhi in 1857.

6, 7, 8. Isolated graves near Flagstaff tower, Hindu Rao's House and in the Sadar Bazar also contain the remains of those who were killed during the Mutiny.

A Chronological Study of these inscriptions. Maratha Period. 1784-1803. The British flag only crossed the Jumna in 1803. Unfortunately there are a very few relics of the European soldiers and officers in the service of the Marathas in Delhi. A few Armenian monuments of the Maratha period survive in the Deremao cemetry at Delhi, the earliest being that of Karo of Tiflis, who died in 1787. In the same cemetry are three early French inscriptions and a number of curious graves built in the Muhammedan style bearing Persian inscriptions, relics doubtless of foreign soldiers in the Maratha service. Among them is the oldest Christian monument in the Punjab, the grave of Messiah, apparently a convert, whose touching epitaph

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relates how he left this world, friendless like his Master, on January 10th 1782.

Masiah[2] died on the 10th January. In December 1787 Karo, the son of Gazar of Tiflis, died on the 4th March 1794, Vakigugas, the late governor of Garpi died. Mogsod passed away on January, 1799. Anthony, the son of Dinipeggenitz, Kadin of Tiflis died on the 16th September 1801.

British Occupation. During the Second Maratha War, the British forces advanced towards Delhi and reached its outskirts. A battle was fought on the eastern side of Jumna on the 11th September near the village of Patparganj[3] where the following lines were inscribed on a pillar.[4] "The Govenor General in council sincerly laments the loss of Major Middleton, 3rd Regiment and Native cavalry captain Macgregor, Persian interpreter, Lieutenant Hill, 2nd Battalion, 12th Native infantry, Coronet Sanquire, 27 th Dragoons, and of the brave soldiers who fell in exmplary execution of deliberate valour and disciplined spirit of the battle of Delhi.

Battle of Laswari. A deadly battle was fought between the Marathas and the English at Laswari.[5] Eleven British Officers fell at Laswari and may possibly lie[6] burried in the old cemetry in Daryaganj under the cross to the memory of the countless nameless dead.

1803-1815 Sir David Ochterlony,[7] the first British Resident at Delhi used the present building of Government High School in DelhiPolytechnic Institution as the Residency building.[8] Baptist priest Crecour passed away on the 29th September 1807. Richard Walken, the Quarter-Master Sergeant of the Ist Battalion and 22nd Regiment passed away on the 19th September October 1808. Major George Eagle of 2nd Regiment died in the 29th June, 1811. John Charles, a boy of six died or the 27th September 1811 and lies burried in the Rajpura cemetry. Isaac passed away on the Ist January 1812. Licutenant John Staples Alexander, Lieutenant in the corps of Bengal Engineers departed from this world on the ist July 1813, William Charles Wilson left this world on the 12th September 1813. Jenkin Jones, a conductor of Ordinance died in March 1814. Robert Atkinson, and their conductor in the army died on the 26th September 1815.

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1816-1830. Lieutenant Wishart died on the 28th May 1817. Major John Palmer conductor of ordinance departed from this life on the 3rd July 1817. Sir David Ochterlony, the first British Resident in Delhi, died in[9] 1825 broken hearted on his being superseded by Sir Charles Metcalf. He had built a very good Kothi for himself in Delhi. In the Mubarak Bagh near Subzimandi even today one can see the remnants of that building. Ochterlony, the victorious General of the Gurkha war is said to be buried in the compound of his house, but no inscription remains to mark the spot[10] Conductor Rixon, from the country of Tyrone in Ireland died in October 1826. Bibi Sujana, sister of Sheikh Yar Khan Bahadur Dilawar-i-jang and the widow of late Tal Sahib[11] died on the 8th September 1827. Lieutennat Colonel Skinner built a beautiful pavillion over the tomb of his friend Thomas Dunn, who passed away on the 23rd September 1827 at the age of 49. Michael Keryack, who was born in Vienna in Austria of Greek parentage, was a shopkeeper in Delhi. He died in Delhi on the 16th August 1828 and his tomb was erected by his friend Manuel Athannas. Manuel Deremao, a captain in the Mahratta army lived upto the ripe age of eighty-six and died on the 5th June 1829. The cemetry of Subzimandi is named after this family as most of the members of this family are buried here along with some others. Bibi Jelisa, the only daughter of Duma, wife of Thomas Wilson, journeyed to the world of eternity on the 3rd June 1830. Eliza Amelia, a young daughter of the famous historian H. M. Eliott, (the compiler of History of-India as told by its own Historians) died on the 14th June 1830. John Jackson, Quarter Master serjeant, Ist Native infantry died on the 17th September 1830. It is also said that the famous Hindu Rao's house was built by Simon Fraser in 1830.[12]

1830-1840.—Robert Stephen, who was a serjeant in Delhi Magazine died on the 13th June 1832. Bibi Anna Sahiba wife of Lieutenant Domingo Deremao died on 3rd July, 1832. Bibi Albelela Sahiba daughter of the above died on the 4th July 1834. William Fraser, the Resident of Delhi, was killed on the instigation of Nawab Shumsoddeen Khan on 22nd March 1835. Full record of his murder is preserved in the National Archives of India and has also

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been narrated by Major Sleeman in his rambles and recollections. On the 1st June he[13] had been appointed Assistant to the Secretary to the Resident at Delhi and risen slowly but steadily to the post of the Resident in 1830. Until his death in 1835., he held the post of Commissioner in the Delhi Territory. Colonel Skinner built a very beautiful tomb over the remains of Fraser in his own chapel Mrs. Fanny Parks and Sir Syed Ahmad Khan have given a vivid description of the tomb in its original condition. But it was despolied during the Mutiny. Henry Ralfe of the 38th Regiment Native Infantry died on the 20th March 1837. Edward Parsons, Assistant Commissionar of Ordinance, passed away on the 10th June 1838. Ensign P. C. White 38th Regiment N. I died on the 1st August 1838. John E. Mee, 38th Regiment N. I passed away on the 10th June 1839. Andrew Foy of Dublin, died on the 14th December 1839. Captain William Fredrick Campbell of the 64th regiment N. I. departed this life at Delhi on the 29th August 1840.

1840-1850. The renowned Colonel James Skinner,[14] the builder of St. James Church near Kashmere Gate left this world on the 4th December 1841 at Hansi and his remains were conveyed to Delhi on the 19th January 1842. Pir Kamarai Sahib left this perishable world for the world of eternity on the Sunday 20th Feburary 1842. F. Thomas of the 73rd Regiment Native Infantry left this world on the 30 June 1842. Felicite Anne Metcalfe, wife of Thomas Theophilus Metcalfe of the Bengal Civil service and Resident of Delhi passed away on the 20th September 1842. Charles Mac Morine of the 3rd bridgade Horse Artillery departed from this life on the 20th February 1843. On the 18th July. 1843 daughter of Mischel Lakhawar died on the 18th July 1843. Lieut. T.C. Phillip Phillotts, Engineer died at Delhi on the 7th September, 1843. Edward Keane Hooper of the 73rd Regiment of the Native Infantry died on the 7th October in the same year. Francis Adam left this mortal world for the world of eternity on the 15th January 1844. Henry Cartier of the 73rd Regiment left this world on the 29th May in the same year. John Shaftire Hawks, adjutant of the 7th Regiment Native Infantry died on the 13th June 1844. Captain Alexander Humbrays of the Bengal Artillery left this world on the 7th August 1846. James Evans of

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the 67th Regiment died on the 8th September 1846. Fredrick Aubert of the 30th Regiment of Native Infantry passed away on the 25th January 1847, Mitter, the 10th son of Farasu Adim died on the 10th June 1847. Rober McIntosh, a surgeon of Bengal establishment passed away on the 31st October 1847. Hawa Jan widow of Muir Muadim died on Sunday th 4th November 1847. Captain Revd. H. A. Loveday, after serving his office for seven years left this world on the 9th January 1848. John Stewart Davidson of invalid establishment died on the 25th March 1848. Thomas Scott, surgeon of the 53rdRegiment of Infantry died on the 19th January 1850. John Thomas Thompson, a missionary of long standing and a scholar of great repute died on the 27tn June 1850. He had translated the Bible into the vernacular and the local languages.

1850-1857. Lieutenant Edmund Sharpe of the Bengal Artillery died on the 5th Jany 1852. Domingo Manuel Deremao, a Mahratta officer and the British pensioner died on the 19th January 1852. George Birch Liuet. 60th Regiment Native Infantry and Tenelba, his wife departed from this life on the 15th January 1855. Both of them were buried in one grave. On the 3rd November 1853, Sir Theopilus Metcalfe, who had been the Resident since 1835 died at the age of 58. He was the builder[15] of the famous Metcalfe House. Joseph Skinner, son of Colonel James Skinner died on the 25th October 1835. Husaina Jan, the daughter of Dulari Jan, died on the 15th August 1835. On the 12th March 1856, the Bishop of Calcutta and the Metropolitan in India attached a portion of the land for the family of James Skinner in the St. James Church.

The Mutiny. Large number of graves in various graveyards remind us of the heavy losses which the British forces had to suffer at the hands of the Indian soldiers during the revolt of 1857. There are at least fifty inscriptions which commemorate the victims of the massacre or those who fell in the struggle for the city. The former[16] are for the most part commemorated on the tablets in St. James Church, the only graves of the murdered being those of the Thompson family. In the old cemetry of Miss Cliford in the Cashmere Gate, and two graves on the Ridge sacred to the memory of four officers of the 54th Native Infantry murdered at the main guard at

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the Cashmere Gate. Those who fell in the siege lie for the most in the Rajpura cemetry, but some are buried in the Cashmere Gate cemetry, and there are isolated graves near Hindu Rao's House and in the Sadar Bazar.

A list of the actionss of the seige of Delhi and of officers killed on between May 30th and September 20th 1857, is given on the Mutiny Memorial that crown this Ridge, but that is by no means complete. It is headed with the name of Nicholson, who lies under a simple stone in the Cashmere Gate cemetry close to Greathed, Agent of the Lieutenant-Governor with the force and the author of "The Letters written During the Mutiny," who died four days before him. Next come the names of Colonel Chester and his Aide de camp Russell, killed by the same cannon's shot[17] at the battle of Badal ki Sarai on June 8th, and Captain Delamian who fell in the same encounter all three buried in the Rajpura cemetry. No stone remains to mark where lie Captain Fagan and Lieutenant Hilderbrand (killed in the breaching batteries on September 12th and 7th respectively) or Lieutenant Perkinson (killed in the action of the Hindun on May 31st) or Tandy (killed in the assault on the Cashmere Gate). Lieutennat Dickens is buried in the Rajpura cemetry, but Stalkeld, the hero of the Cashemre Gate, though commemorated in the scene of his prowess, lies in an unknown grave, as also does Captain Greensell, shot accidentally by a sentry (or some said by a brother officer) on July 20th. The graves of Surgeon Moore (mortally wounded at the Hindun) and of Lieutenant Colonel Yule (kiled in the attack on the rear on June 19th) are unknown, and the only other memorial to Lieutenants Pogson, Webb and Mount (the first two mortally wounded at the water Bastion, the last at the action of the Hindun Subzimandi on June 9th) is a stone in the wall of the Cashmere Gate cemetry. Lieutenant Bradshaw fell in the street fighting after the capture of the Cashmere gate, leading a rush of 52nd on a gun; Captain Andrews and Ensign Napier the one killed, the other mortally wounded at the action of the Hindun; Lieutenant York was mortally wounded while repulsing the attack on the Subzimandi picquet; all these lie in the nameless graves; Captain Law (killed on July 23rd), Lieutenant Travers (mortally wounded in the attack on

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the Alipur picquet on August 2nd) and Lieutenant Lumsden killed at Najafgarh) are buried in the Rajpura cemetry, as also is Ensign Wheatly, killed at Hindu Rao's House. Ensign Walter, (who died of a sunstroke got in the Subzimandi action of July 18th) the Lieutenant Browne (kiled in the attack on the right batteries on August 6th) lie in unknown graves. Ensign Davidson, killed at the Mori breach, and Lieutenant Humfray, mortally wounded in the city on September 15th, are buried in Rajpura cemetry. Here also lies Quentin Battye, second in command of the Guides, who fell in the action of June 9th. He was one of the 10 brothers of whom three lie in the cemetries of the Punjab-Quertin at Delhi, Wigram and Fredrick at Mardan. His last words Dulce et decorum prapatria mori, are engraved en on his tomb, and are a befitting motto for his race. Lieutenant Murray killed in the assault, and Bannerman, who fell on September 7th, have nameless grave. Lieutenant Humphrays, mortally wounded on June 19th, and Ensign Phillips, killed at the Bank House on September 16th or 17th, lie in Rajpura cemetry, as do Dely Gabbett Tyler and Elkington of the 61st. Dely and Tyler are not mentioned in the monument. There is no tombstone to Captain Knox (killed at the Flagstaff Battery) or to Lieutenant Fitzgerabld (kiled at the Mori breach) Harrison (killed at Badli-ki-Sarai on June 8th and burried on the field of battle) and Briscoe (killed in the Subzimandi on July 18th). Major Jacob, commanding the 1st Bengal Fusiliers (who fell at the Mori breach) is buried at Rajpura. Captain Mc Barnett of the same Regiment, who led the attack on Kishenganj on September 14th lies buried with his men near where he fell in the Sadar Bazar. Lieutenant Speke, shot at the same time as Nicholson has no monument to mark his grave, but Lieutenant Sheriff, mortally wounded at the capture of Ludlow Castle Battery, seems to have two tablets which are placed on graves in different parts of the Rajpura cemetry. Lieutenant Jackson and Gambier are buried in Rajpura.

This closes the list of officers given on the monument. By a strange commission it leaves out the names of Sir Henry Burnard, buried in Rajpura. It also omits Lieutenant Alexander who had come to Delhi with stores and served with the besieging force as a

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volunteer, Lieutenant Walker, Captain Gore Willock (another volunteer who died of typhoid) and Lieutenant Someruville, all of whom are buried in Rajpura cemetry,, and a considerable number of others.

Four monuments in Delhi commemorate special incidents of the seige. On the sity wall between the Kabul and Lahore Gate a tablet marks the spot where Nicholson met his death wound. A tablet on the Cashmere Gate tells the story of its assault, and over the gate of the old Magazine are written the names and deeds of the nine Englishmen of its garrison. Finally an obelisk in front of the Telegraph office tells how the electric telegraph saved British India. A cross in the old cemetry stands in the memory of 1857. It reads, "Sacred to the memory of those whose nameless graves lie around."

Prof. Yasudas Ramchandra, though died on the 11th August 1880, was an important figure of pre-Mutiny Delhi. He was a Professor of Mathematics at the Delhi Government College from 1844 to 1857.

General Observations. We can make the following observations on studying these observations closely.

Military Cantomment. A good number of British military officers were stationed in the Rajpura cantonment at Delhi as even in the pre-Mutiny graves, a great majority of them belong to military officers. Some of these officers were engineers, surgeons or working in the Delhi Magazine.

Social Conditions. The custom of early marriage was very much prevalent among the Europeans as in some cases women of 20 years' age had a number of children. Every family used to have a select portion of a graveyard where its members were buried. There were a number of European residents in Delhi who did not belong the English race as Deremao family and Michael Keryack, a shop-keeper of Greek origin and on old resident of Vienna in Austria respectively. These Europeans often married native Indian women as the wife of of Tal sahib. The infants died in a very large number at a very young age. Either it was due to the unhealthy climate of Delhi or lack of medical facilities which led to their death.

Religious Conditions. There were a number of Christian missiona-

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ries and priests in Delhi. We find the graves of at least three priests. Baptist priest Crecour, who is the earliest among these, died on the 29th September 1807 and rests in the Deremao cemtery in Kishengunje. Chaplain Revd. H.A. Loveday after performing his duties for seven years died at the early age of 32 on the 9th January 1848. He is buried in the gravyeard of St. James Church. John Thomas Thompson served the mission for a very long period with unwearied diligence. He made efforts to spread Christianity among the non-Christians. He died at the age of 60 in 1850. Revd. Jennings was murdered in tke Red Fort on the 11th May 1857. Paucity of the graves of the native converts point out that the Christianity did not spread much among the native population before 1857. There are few graves of native converts in Deremao cemetry and one tablet to the memory of Dr. Chaman lal in St. James Church near Kashmere Gate. Prof. Ramchandra too had been baptized on the 11th March 1852.

Education and Literature. Revd. John Thompson was a scholarly person. He was the author of numerous religious treatises in various languages both in verse and prose and also of several and useful literaryproductions in prayer of God. Prof. Ramchandra was the renowned professor of Mathematics in Delhi College. He had written his famous book on the Maxima and Minima during this period.[18] Delhi College was an excellent educational institution of this period. Principal Tylor was the head of the institution at that time. He had been the Head Master of Delhi School for thirty years before he came to this post. He was also murdered in the 11th May 1857.

Economic Conditilons. We donot get the graves of poor Europeans. Most of the graves are of those persons who belonged to the either upper class or middle class. Most of the Europeans occupied good posts in the military and in the civil Administration. Most of the graves are very well built which proves that the economic condition of the European was very satisfactory.

Architectural Activities. From these inscriptions we get the following information on this topic.

i. Sir David Ochterlony built his Kothi along with a tank in the Mubarak Bagh near Subzimand.i.

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ii. St. James Church was commenced in 1830 and was completed in 1836 at the cost of 2 lakhs of rupees. It was built by Colonel James Skinner exclusively in the discharge of a vow made when he lay grievously wounded[20] and helpless on the field of Uniara, thrity six years before.

iii. Sir David Ochterlony used the present Government School building as his Residency[21].

iv. Hindu Rao's house was built in 1830.[22]

v. Delhi Magazine was built in 1830 and was situated near the present main city post office.

vi. Telegraph office was built in 1850.

vii. Metcalfe House had been built between 1835 and 1840.

Sculpture. We also get the names of some sculptors who built the tablets of these tombs. Kanniah lal was one of them.

Civil Administration. Sir David Ochterlony was the first Britsh Resident in Delhi. He lies in a very neglected corner of his kothi in Mubarak Bagh. Simon Fraser was the Resident of Delhi in 1835 till he was assassinated. He is buried in St. James Church. Sir Theophilus Metcalfe was the Agent to the Governor from 1835 to 1853. He too occupies a very simple grave in St. James Church.

Present Condition of these Monuments. Present condition of these monuments is very pitiable and they have been most unfortunately severely neglected. Really one is grieved to see their condition. Dereamao cemetry, the oldest graveyard in Delhi is not well preserved. It is situated just behind the Government Quarters in Kishenganj. A number of tablets have been stolen and some have been covered with mud. Patparganj memorial tower has been stolen and the basement is lying just near the original spot. (This was the condition when I saw the monument on the 2nd November 1956 and perhaps the last remanant may have been lost by the time this papar is read) The inscription disappeared a number of years ago and the railing was in existence when I visited the spot for the first time six years ago. Daryaganaj cemetry is well presevered and is in the cantonment area near the Red Fort. The old cemetry near Main Post office is tolerably preserved, Rajpura graveyard has lost most of its tablets. Kashmere Gate cemetry is of course well preserved.

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Graves are very well preserved in St. James Church. Graves near the Flagstaff tower and in the Hindu Rao 'House are tolerably preserved. Sadar Bazar Grave has disappeared though an enclosement is still called 'Gora Sahib ki Kabar'. Mutiny Memorial and two inscriptions opposite Post Office are well preserved, though an explanation to the world rebel has been added by the Government of Independent India. Fortunately the inscription on the spot where General Nicholson fell mortally wounded is still visible. There are two inscritiptions on each of the sides of the wall. On the road side is hidden in a refugee's shop while on the back side it still hangs in the wall though the chowkidar told me that several attempts had been made to carry that away.

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1. Miles Irving A list of inscriptions on Christian Tombs and Monuments in the Punjab, North West Frontier Province., Kashmir and Afghanistan possessing any historical interst p. 1.
2. ibid-inscription n. 20.
3. Thorn-Memoir of war in India 1803-06. p.
4. Faneshaw——Delhi Past and Present p. 74
5. Malleson——Decisive battle of India. p. 287
6. Irving. Inscriptions on Monuments p. 3.
7. Dictionary of National Biography vol XLI p. 353
8. Bashir-ud-Din. History of Delhi vol II. p. 288
9. Concise Dictionary of National Biography p. 962.
10. Miles Irving Inscriptions on Christian Monuments p. 2
11. Eurp. European inhabitants of Delhi sometimes married Indian women. It is generally believed that Col. Ochterlony had kept a number of Indian women. It is thought rumoured that the the tank and the banglow in the Mubarak Bagh in Delhi was specially built for the use of such women of the General.
12. Dr. Percival Spears. Twilight of the Mughals p. 191. Dr. Spear has suggested that the house was not built by Simon Fraser as generally believed but by Sir Edward Colebrooke. He contends that Fraser bought it from the latter.

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13. George William De Rhe Philipe—Biographical Notices of officers Military officers and others mentioned in inscrip tions on tombs and monuments in the Punjab, N. W. F. Province, Kashmir and Afghanistan. p. 114.
14. Fraser, Baillie, Military Memoirs of Colonel Skinner vol. I and II
15. Dictionary of the National Biography vol. XXXVII. p. 3-8.
16. Miles Irving. List of Inscriptions on Christian Tombs p. 7.
17. Ibid p. 8.
18. Ramchandra—Maxima and Minima
19. Dr. Abdul Haq—Old Delhi College p. 61.
20. George William De Rhe Philipee—Biographical notices of Military officers and others mentioned in inscriptions. p. 312.
21. Bashir-ud-Din History of Delhi vol. II. p. 288.
22. A noteon the main building ofthe Hospital gives this information.

ABHAYA SINGH. A KING OF SAMBALPUR
(1766-1775)

By

Prof. Radhakant Mishra

A History of the Chauhan Rule in Sambalpur is yet to be written. Here is an article on the 9th Raja of Sambalpur whose reign represented remarkable activities in various fields. He was able to resist the Marahatta invasions who after occupying Ratanpur in 1745 were trying to extend their influence into the Chhatishgarh States as well as the tract of Sambalpur, Sonepur and Patna. This article is based on some unpublished records now lying in the Sambalpur Collectorate and corroborated by the contemporary account of Motte Leckie's Journal Orissa in 1790.

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LAND TENURE IN MYSORE UNDER TIPU SULTAN

By

Dr. B. Sheik Ali

The system of land tenure existing in the Carnatic under Vijayanagar resembled the European fiefs, subject to a certain assessment of revenue under regular measurement or estimate of production. When the Southern provinces fell to the Bijapuris under the command of Ranadulla Khan in 1644 who established a new Government at Sira, no great alterations were made in the existing land tenure. In fact he committed the province to the charge of a Hindu chief, Shahji, the Maratha officer and thus kept his new conquests free from the admixture of Turkish traits in land revenue prevailing in Bijapur, namely the Timaryet system or the grant of extensive jaghirs to their mansabdars. When the Mughal suzerainty was established over the south under Aurangjeb, he introduced the practice of ceding considerable tracts of the best lands to the mansabdars. During Haider's regime also, the abuses of the land tenure had not been prevented. He annually collected more than his assessment or rents. Consequently the task of completely developing the revenue mode of mangagement fell to Tipu who had acquired great knolwedge and experience by his administration of the jaghirs in Dharmpuri for fifteen years where he had introudced a number of reforms.

On his accession of power, Tipu modified the land tenure and restored it to what existed in the lower Carnatic where Mughal influences had not deeply penetrated. Chiefly, he laid down certain rules for the distribution of arable land between the old and the new rayats. There were four kinds of lands, wet, dry, hissa and Ijra. Hissa lands were those where the produce was equally distributed between the state and the peasant and he was not expected to pay any fixed tax just like the Bhagra lands in Bengal. Ijra land was that which was leased to Rayat at a fixed rent, the same as

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theeka land in Bengal. Out of these four categories of land every peasant should have an equal share. The grain seeds sown in Ijra land was greater in quantity than in Hissa land. Tipu encouraged chiefly two varieties of land tenures, the institutian of hereditary property and the fixed rents. The first may be described in the technical language of Meeras, signifying inheritance. According to this the peasant secured the hereditary right of cultivation or the right of a tenant and his heirs to occupy a certain ground, so long as they continued to pay the customary rent of the district. The rent was paid only when the land was cultivated. But the state insisted on the cultivation of the land and it should not be left fallow on any account. Those who defied this order ran the risk of forfeiting the land which was bestowed on another. The rent varied under this tenure according to the produce. But in the other, the ownership of the land was vested with a landlord who collected the rent from his tenants and paid a fixed rent to the state. On his death the land was passed on to his son, thus respecting the right of succession. Such a system existed in Bednore, Ballam, Mysore and Tayoor provinces. In Canara, all the lands which the landlords did not immediately manage themselves paid a fixed rent in money or kind. In Baramahal, ther farmers held the land directly from the Government and there were no landlords in that province.

Tipu introduced the system of collecting the rent in cash, where the rents were fixed according to the grain, the lands were measured every year. If metals like gold and silver, copper or brass were offered, they were accepted at their current prices in the bazar. These metals were not disposed of but deposited. Farming out of the land was abolished and the state undertook the task of collecting the tax directly from the peasants. The officers of the state were strictly instructed not to harrass the ryots. They should not interfere in their daily affairs except at the time of collecting taxes when they should adopt peaceful methods for collection. The rents fixed by the state were fair and moderate.

Those who cultivated the dry land were charged about one third of the crop. For the wet or rice lands, the payment was more, nearly half of the crop and the tax was received in kind. The

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mode of estimating the quantity of land was not by actual measurements but by the quantity of seed grains required to sow the arable land. The term used was 'Candy' which differed from district to district and from grain to grain A candy of dry land was not just the same as that of wet land. A candy of land meant the extent of land in which a candy of seed grain was sown. A candy consisted of 20 'Kudus' and each 'Kudu' was of ten seers. There were varying types of 'Kudus'. But to assure an equal share the produce was distributed half and half between the state and the farmer. The Candy of dry land was almost four times larger than the 'Candy' of wet land which was considered much superior to, and hence charged at a higher rate than the dry land, The actual differences of rent between wet and dry lands was not 2-3 but 1-6 because the extent of one candy of wet land was only one fourth of dry land. If the yield in one candy of paddy land was 24 measures, the state's share was 12. For dry land it should have been 8 but actually the state took only 2 measures from dry land for the same area as that of wet land, as the gross yield, was only 6 measuress. The Brahmin cultivators paid only half the usual rent as their women folk did not work in the field. The state dues were not very high comparing the rentals in the same period in England where the peasant paid one third to the landlord. one third as the charges of husbandry and only one third was left to him. In Mysore, the state took one third from the peasant leaving two thirds to him.

Lands were graded into three categories according to the fertility of the soil and the assessment depended on the productivity of the soil. A farmer cultivated both dry and wet lands and on the average he paid forty percent of his income to the state. The cultivation of dry crop was most extensive and most certain. It was sown in the beginning of June and reaped in January. Nearly twentyfive varieties of crops were harvested, the principal dry grains being ragi, jari, bajara, dhal, horsegram, Bengal gram and green gram. Rice and sugar cane were the chief wet crops grown near the reservoirs or by the supply of Cauveri water. There was scope even for the second crop in the lands fed by this river but Tipu discouraged more

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than one crop as it would reduce the fertility of the soil. Besides these food grains, other commercial crops like arece nut, pepper, cardamun, tobacco and sandalwood brought good revenue, which was collected on the basis of fixed money rent. The repairs of the tanks were attended to with special care and urgency. These tanks stood in constant necessity of repairs owing to the heavy rainfalls which lowered their depth by depositing good quantity of earth by the flow of water and by washing away their embankments in the rainy season. Cultivation of the waste land was encouraged by granting rent-free land in the first year, charging one quarter in the second year and the full thereafter. Tipu made it impossible by his reforms for the tax collectors to rob the ryots and the government as in his father's days. That was why, even his inveterate foes were compelled to declare, "that his country was the best cultivated and its population the most flourishing in India."

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INDO-BRITISH CONFLICTS DURING THE 19TH CENTURY

By

S.R. Singh

Perhaps there has always been a feeling of racial superiority lying in the subconscious of the European. Even a liberal historian like Fisher regards the conflict between Persia and Greece as a 'rivalry between east and west, between despotism and liberty, between Iranian fireworship and the free and various play of Hellenic polytheism[1]' and regards the victory of Greece as 'triumph of Athenian democracy over oriental despotsm'.[2] When this is the thought-structure of Europe, there could never have been true concord between the British and the Indians, and Griffiths' view that 'English officials mixed on tasty terms with Indians of good class and education'[3] cannot be accepted. In fact, there was never at any time any real sympathy between the two races.[4] Even Macaulay entertained violent native prejudice,[5] and wanted to bring light to the ignorant people of India. It is a common place of history that the British did not acquire political power in India through fair means; that treachery, coercion, and criminal disregard of moral laws had been the means through which the English had founded and consolidated their power in India. In these circumstances there was no mutual respect or admiration as between India and England.[6] Englishmen often painted a very black picture of Indian society. Grant, for example, found the people, specially the natives of Bengal, exceedingly depraved; lacking truth, honesty and good faith; selfish, dastardly and cruel.[7] In England people thought that the distant inhabitants of India were almost barbarians, and not the finest type of Englishmen were sent out to India.

That the Europeans thought that the Indians steeped in superstition and barbariam, were to be pulled out of it, is evident from the attitudes of the Christian Missionaries, the philanthropists who wanted to impart western education to the natives, and the newly educated natives. The missionaries vilified Hindu gods and

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the intellectual awakening under Derozio associated with the Hindu College found its full expression in the slogans — 'Down with Hinduism' 'Down with orthodoxy'. During the first half of the 19th century the English attitude was one of benevolent guardianship towards the people of India-a superior race condescending to take charge of the welfare of an inferior race-and any failure of any reform measure was nailed down to the inherent downward trend of the Indian people. Thus Lord Dalhousie's system of reforms 'failed, perhaps, only because the people of India 'preferred darkness to light, folly to wisdom'.[8] But even before the Mutiny, English officialdom had begun to assume airs of superiority and a certain amount of aloofness was perceptible in their behaviour. As early as 1824 Lord Hastings had to note, "A conception had been entertained that a reserved manner and a tone of dictation would impress them with a notion of our power'.[9]

That the tone of racial arrogance was not so blatant before the Mutiny may be attributed to a number of reasons. First, imperialism itself had not by that time become so blatant. The prestige of the Mughal Emperor was still high. When Warren Hastings and the Mughal Emperor were seated on an elephant together, the former took his place behind the letter in the howdah.[10] Even Lord Hastings was refused the claim of equality so far as chair on the same level with the Mughal Emperor's chair was concerned.[11]

Second, a large part of India remained still to be conquered. The Sikhs were specially a power to be reckoned with. The conquest of the Punjab was a bloody one. "The rascals, they were in it heart and hand; and even little boys were caught perched in the trees trying to pot the officers".[12] We also know how the annexations of Jhansi and Audh had given a popular colour to the Mutiny. Whatever it be, it is a plain fact that the Europeans could not afford to be racially blatantly arrogant, not that they would not.

Thirdly, there had not arisen a middle class ambitious, confident and self-assertive enough to challenge the European's claim to benevolent guardianship of the Indian people. The few Anglicised Indians, who had drunk deep at the fountain of western learning, were too dazed and bewildered to assume the leadership of their own

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masses. Indeed the educated natives tended to be alienated from the masses[13] and attracted to the Europeans. Even those who stood for the social, political and cultural uplift of India looked upon only the English as the natural harbingers of peace, progress and prosperity. Secure in their positions and undisturbed by the challenge of a native middle class, European officers, at this time, put their whole heart into their work. They almost identified themselves with the people.[14] Communications, and means of transport, between India and England being difficult, they could not pay frequent visits to England, nor could they bring their wives over to India. Consequently, their devotion to work was not distracted.[15] Not that the English did not oppress Indians at this time. The non-official European world preyed upon the people. But the vagaries of the individuals of the conquering nation were kept under restraint. The Civil Service protected the natives from the oppression of the English settlers.[16] The so-called Black Act, allowing native judges to exercise civil juritdicsion over British born subjects, was supported by the Civil Service,[17] and during the indigo disturbances the Civil Service stood for the protection of the natives against the planters.[18] Because of this the non-official world detested the official world and the officials were blackballed by the planters at the Bengal Club.[19]

This combination of cirumstances kept racial antagonism more or less hidden from view in the pre-Mutiny period. The Mutiny, however, radically altered the situation. It left behind bitter momories of racial persecution. Even at this time, when passions ran high, the Indians did not soil their national tradition. They did not violate the honour of the women of the enemy. Inspite of the conflagration, 'very little race feeling found expression on the Indian side during the Mutiny.[20] The Indians only tried to check the advancing tide of Christianity and Westernisation. In upper India at least the progress of westernisation was arrested for some time. "To the young students of the Delhi College, who had imbibed the New Learning, the Mutiny came as a terrible shock."[21] Their own Principal F. Taylor, loved and admired by them all, was killed and Professor Ram Chandra was missing for a time.[22] It should be remembered here that people had resorted to violence not for the

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first time. Even before this, time and again, they had resorted to violence to get their grievances redressed. This was so when the Santhals of the Rajmahal hills rose in rebellion and spread over the neighbourhood in large numbers and caused headache to the Goverment;[23] or when the Mopals murdered Mr. Conolly, the district magistrate in Malabar.[24] The Mutiny was only the last attempt of Old India to overthrow the foreign yoke. It failed in that it did not get the support of New India.

The Mutiny failed,but it succeeded in one way that it set the tone and temper of New India. Not only racial animosities were aroused, conditions were also radically changed to widen antagonism between Europeans and Indians. Sea communications between England and India having become easy, large numbers of English women began to come out to India.[25] Now Europeans both officials and non-official, came to depend upon the social resources of India less and less, and they formed their own colony wherever they went. The civil servant began to take frequent furloughs home and the longing of an exile to go back home seized him. Bitter memories of the Mutiny, growing volume of administrative work,[26] and the restraint of power by the expression of public criticism,[27] made the officials more intolerant of native gentlemen,[28] Officials used abusive terms about Indians in their private talks and their women were even more scornful of the natives[29]. Civilians cared little for India, were little informed about her people; military officers cared less and were totally ignorant of all classes of the people.[30]

One particular reason for the officials being irritated with and apathetic to the natives was the rise of an Indian middle class, a product of English education, which had been now in vogue for about half a century. Fired with the ideas of liberalism, educated natives now clamoured for equal rights. As was well said by Mr. (later on Sir) Sankaran Nair, "It is impossible to argue a man into slavery in the English language".[31] Indians now demanded free institutions as the true cure for degradation and misery and racial and creedal conflicts.[32] The masses now began to look upon the educatcd classes as their natural leaders. The European officers found themselves, as it were, deprived of their benevolent guardia-

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nship of the native people by the westernised Indians, who became now their rivals, clamouring for loaves and fishes of office, and no longer ready to put up with racial insolence. The result was that the more Anglicised a native was, the more he came to be disliked by the European.[33]

And this brought about a new alignment in Indian political life. In the pre-Mutiny period there had been the helpless native masses, frequently preyed upon by the non-official European settlers, the civil servants playing the impartial umpire and safeguarding the Indian interests against the European interlopers. Now both the official and non-official European elements joined hands as against the Indians.[34] Now the tone or feeling of the Europeans was one of lordly superiority and contemptuous indifference.[35] This reacted adversely upon Indian character also. The best elements in Indian society often kept aloof from the Europeans. Rather than suffer humiliation, they shunned publicity and preferred to retire to private life, Only the flatterers, the selfish and those utterly devoid of self-respect flocked round the officials. The hangers on were of course looked down upon by their own people. Thus 'the pushing, the cringing, the slavish instinct among the natives is fostered.[36]

This intensifying Indo-European antagonism found expression in the growing reactionary role of the Europeans on the one hand, and the birth of militant nationalism on the other. European reaction now began to question the very bed-rock, the Magna Charta of Indian liberalism—the Queen's Proclamation of 1858. While speaking against the Ilbert Bill, Mr. Henry Sullivan Thomas, thundered against the principles of the proclamation.[37] The worst exhibition of racial arrogance was manifested in the unanimity with which the Europeans attacked the Bill. Reaction had run so hot that the Calcutta University interdicted the writings of Burke (the author of the famous "Reflections on the French Revolution"—a stout protest against all sorts of revolutions) whose views had largely influenced a liberal like Sir Surendra Nath Banerji.[38] European racial arrogance also resulted in frequent assaults on individual natives, resulting sometimes in death—such as the Fuller case.[39] In

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this case not only his groom, the victim of Mr. Fuller's wrath died, but more shameful was the unanimous support Mr. Fuller got from the entire Anglo-Indian community in India. This must be said to the credit of Lord Lytton that he condemned the whole episode in unmeasured terms. Or again the inhuman way in which the Kuka rebellion was suppressed and the helpless Kuka captives were massacred[40] can be attributed only to the racial arrogance of the Europeans. Though the guilty, Mr. Cowan, was removed from the service, the sympathy of the officials generally and of the Anglo-Indian Press was with him.

This was the period of Disraelian Neo-Imperialism and bitterness of race-feeling also manifested istelf in the natives not being allowed to share the railway compartment with the Europeans, the Indians not being admitted to European Clubs, they being required to dismount while passing by Europeans. Needless to say that this attitude of the Anglo-Indians exasperated feelings on the Indian side. Tempers ran high. The feelings of a proud people were grievously wounded.

No longer inert and passive, India reacted energetically. No longer content to borrow from the west, India sought her moorings in her own past. Consequently, such religio-national movements were born as the Arya Samaj, and the more liberal, but equally staunchly nationalist, movement of Swami Vivekanand, Ram-Krishna's disciple. They were ready to give back to the west, what it lacked, spiritual moorings. They enthused India with a sense of self-reliance, and impressed upon the West that India could still hold her own against the strongest blast from any land on a footing of equality. The extremism of Tilak was the polilical counter-part of these religio-nationalist movements. Because it was this extremism of Tilak which touched the spirit of the nation, stirred the 'Heart of Aryavarta', that Tilak, not Gokhale, became the idol of the masses. Wounded nationalism found expression in yet another channel, terrorism, which was the nation's protest against Anglo-Indian insolence.

The nineteenth century ends in India with the administration of Lord Curzon, who had the special knack of wounding the feelings

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of Indians, the audacity to question the very veracity of their forefathers, and who must be paid the tribute of making the gulf between the two races unbridgeable. His arrogant administration deepened Indo-European antagonism and the fate of liberalism in India was sealed.

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SECTION IV

LOCAL HISTORY

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SECTION IV

PRESIDENTIAL ADDRESS

By

Dr. H. N. Sinha.

Friends,

I am beholden to the organisers of Indian History Congress for inviting me to preside over this Section of Local History. It is an honour which I appreciate very much. But at the same time I feel that it is rather embarassing for any one to preside over this particular section. It is easy for a scholar to claim competence in a special period of Indian History. There are well marked periods of Indian History and each one has a continuity, chronology, and character of its own. Students and historians are acquainted with them and have been pursuing research in those periods for long. But local history as such is an unkonwn quantity- a vacuum in Indian History. It has little attraction and few votaries. In my opinion local history in India is the most neglected field of research. We have history of dynasties, of wars and conquests, of kingdoms and empires, but of village and Janapads, of cities and towns, of regions and states, we know next to nothing. We have studied and written about the peoples who have entered India as settlers and invaders, as builders of kingdoms and empires. The broad and majestic sweep of events, the main currents of life and the keleidoscopic character of civilization in this vast country have fascinated the scholars and historians. But the more humdrum events, the work and achievements of petty rulers in obscure parts of the country, the activities and pursuits of the people as they live and die in the little localities of their own have not attracted much attention so far. We know the history of India under the Mughals, but we do not know the history of the city of Agra which remained the capital of Mughal empire for a considerable time. We know the history of Kaṇishka's empire, but we do not know the history of Mathura and its environs. We know the history of the Imperial

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Guptas, but we do not know the history of Allahabad where stands Samudra Gupta's pillar as the memorial of his glorious reign. We know so much about emperor Harsha, but of his capital city Kanauj, there is hardly any authentic account. It is a tragedy that history of India should have been written in terms of wars and conquests, of rise and fall of empires, kings and queens, and not in terms of the joys and sorrows, of strifes and tribulations, of failures and achievements, of the people living in the country side, in villages and towns, in cities and states. There is thus an unreality about the history of India. Instead of the history of India written on the basis of local history, on the accounts of peoples and principalities, we have local histories derived from and depending upon the history of India. If we want to find out the history for examle of Agra, Benaras, Bayana, Etawah or Kanauj we have to turn to the history of India written by Smith and Elphinstone, of Akbar's empire written by Abul Fazl, of Sher Shah's empire as found in the Tarikhi Sher Shahi, etc. Local history has been treated with scant consideration and yet without a knowledge of local history Indian History cannot be reconstructed in a realistic way.

If this view is correct we have to turn our attention more than ever to the study of local history. And so far as we in the Uttar Pradesh are concerned, there is much of which we can fell justly proud, but much more that we want to know. For, India's history and civilisation have in all ages centred round the history and civilisation of this sacred land, the land of the Yamuna and the Ganga, of the Saraju and the Gomati. It is the land which is hallowed by the association and memories of the noblest and the greatest of the Indians, be they rulers and religious teachers, poets and philosophers. It is in this land that age after age new systems of thought, philosophy, religion and ethics, and new ideals of art, architecture and literature have grown and spread. This land has taken the lead in all the adventures of human spirit into the domains of what is the most mysterious, sublime and deep in human life and soul. Here have arisen empires that have covered the entire country. Within a few yards from here the great Urdu poet Galib was born, and within ten miles of this place the saintly poet Surdas

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lived and composed his immortal lyrics. From the very ancient times, indeed from the days the Aryans entered India, this land has been the craddle of cultures and creeds. The Aryans, the Indo-Bactrians, the Kushans, the Huns, the Turks. the Afghans, and the Mughals have all come and found a homeland here. As they have come, and settled down there has been a fusion of blood and beliefs, of cultures and creeds which has left a unique heritage for us today. Hence during different periods and different epochs the history of Uttar Pradesh has merged into the greater history of India. History made here has left its indelible impress upon the rest of India. But a thousand pity it is that we know so little of its past. Sourasena, Panchala, Vatsa, Koshala and Kashi were great kingdoms in the past. Kashi, Kausambi, Sarnath Sravasti, Kanauj, Mathura, Ayodhya and Prayag enshrine the most cherished, heritage of the Hindus and Buddhists just as Agra, Jaunpur and Lucknow do that of the Muslims. What, then is the history of this land ? How much do we know of it ?

This question is easily answered if I mention one or two facts of our local history. It is well known now that the group of villages called Kosam Khiraj, Kosam Inam etc. on the left bank of the Yamuna about 32 miles southwest of Allahabad is the site of the ancient Kausambi. Kausambi was the capital of the Vatsas and farfamed for wealth and culture as described in Buddhist literature. It was visited by Lord Buddha, and associated with the romantic tales of King Udayana. Nobody knew where it was. In the year 1862-63 Major General Cunningham, the then Director General of Archaeology, visited the site, and identified it with ancient Kausambi. But that was disputed by eminent authorities like Vincent Smith and Wattars. The dispute was set at rest only recently when the excavations conducted there resulted in the finds in the form of seals and inscriptions which proved beyond doubt the existence of Ghositarama monastery, which according to Buddhist literature, and tradition stood there. That is how our local history is taking shape.

Nearer home, in the city of Agra we do not know for example the site of the Jaipur house, where Shivaji was lodged by Kunwar

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Ram Singh, and from where he made his escape. The legend has it that he escaped westward and crossed the Yamuna at Poya Ghat 4 miles upstream into the Doab. The correctness or otherwise of this legend has yet to be determined. Similarly a connected and authentic account of Agra, the most famous city in Northen India, as the city of the Taj, is a desideratum which our local historians would do well to remove.

It may be mentioned in this connection that even the origin of Agra is a moot point still. Legendary traditions connect its environs with the time of the Pandavas. It is said that an old fortress named Badalgarh stood on or near the site of the present fort before the time of the Muslims, That is supposed to have been built by one Badal Singh about 1475. But it is mentioned for the first time in the Muslim records about 1080 A. D. In that year Ibrahim Ghaznavi a descendant of the famous Mahmud Ghaznavi is said to have invaded Agra. This invasion has been referred to by the Persian poet Masud Saleman who died in 1131 A. D., in his poems written in praise of the rulers of Ghazni. According to him the fort of Agra then held by one Jaipal was captured after a desperate assault, and then the city which was a flourishing one and "a great Hīndu strong-hold since the days of Kans" was destroyed. The destruction was so complete that it was reduced to an insignificant village and remained as such till the time of Sikandar Lodi.

Subsequently Sikandar Lodi made it his capital and the Makhzan-i-Afghan of Inaitullah gives the following account of its foundation by Sultan Sikandar Lodi :

"It had for a long time occurred to the Sultan to found a town on the banks of the Jamuna, which was to be residence of the Sultan, and the head-quarters of the army, and to serve to keep the rebels of that quarter in awe, and deprive them of further opportunity of growing refractory, for frequently the Jagirdars and government servants and the peasantry in general in Sarkar Bayana had complained of the violence to which they were subject. With the view, he commissioned, in the year 911 (1505 A. D.), some judicious and intelligent men to explore the banks of the river, and, report upon any locality

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which they might consider the most eligible. Accordingly, the exploring party left Delhi in boats, and as they proceeded, examined carefully both sides of the river, until they arrived at the spot where Agra now stands; and having approved of it, communicated their selection to the Sultan. Upon this, he left Delhi and marched to Mathura, where he took boat, amusing himself by the way with various kinds of sport. When he approached the site indicated, he observed two elevated spots which seemed suitable for building; and inquired of Mihtar Mulla Khan, who was called 'Naik' and commanded the royal barge, which of those two mounds appeared to him the most suitable. He replied, "That which is (Age-ra) Agra, or in advance, is the preferable one." The Sultan smiled, and said "The name of this city then shall be called Agra."

In an auspicious hour the foundations were laid and that is how Agra started as the Capital of the Lodis. After the Lodis Babar also made it his capital. But the name of Sikandar Lodi is preserved today by the suburban village of Sikandara where he erected a Baradari in 1495 which is still standing. It is said that the fort and the city founded by Sikandar Lodi stood on the northern bank of Yamuna and not on the southen bank where it now stands and where it was shifted by Akbar. But the point that may be noted in connection with the origin of Agra is this. If at the end of the 11th century Masud Suleman mentioned it as Agra in his poem and described it as a flourshing city, where was the need for Sultan Sikandar Lodi to give it the name of Agra once again almost five centuries later ? Even if it had been so ruined by Ghaznavi's invasion that it remained "an insignificant village till the reign of Sikandar Lodi" it still must have retained its name of Agra. Which of the two statements is correct ? Here is a problem for the local historians to investigate.

There must be many such problems connected with the local history of the important regions, the numerous sites now deserted and forgotten, and cities and towns still important and flourishing in the U. P. which await investigation and solution. We have hardly made any endeavours in that direction. The U. P. Historical

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Society which is fairly old, and the recently revived Agra Historical Society have as their main objective the reconstruction of the history of this state. Whatever be their work in this direction, there is a very great need for more Historical Societies to start almost in every district and town to take up this work. We have much to do, and hardly the fringe of local history has been touched. There have been five universities in this State besides the Roorkee University which has only the Engineering Faculty and the Gorakhpur University, which will start functioning next July. These five universities could do much by way of promoting research on local history. But if one goes through the lists of subjects on which approved research work has been or being done, it would be clear how much the history of India has claimed attention and how little the local history, in comparison with it. I give below as an example the list of subjects in History on which research work is being carried out in Agra University since 1941.

1. 1941 — History of Malwa.
2. 1944 — History of Bundelkhand (1772—1856).
3. 1944 — History of the ceded and conquered parts of N. W. Provinces from 1803 to 1853.
4. 1945 — Influence of Contemporary British Policies on Indian Constitutional History.
5. 1945 — Social life depicted in the Sutras.
6. 1946 — The Relation of Mewar and the Marathas,
7. 1949 — Famine and Famine Policy of Govt. of India (1858—1918).
8. 1950 — Liberal party as a factor in Indian politics and Statemanship in the contemporary social and political history of India.
9. 1950 — Extremism in Indian Politics (1896—1920).
10. 1951 — The Foreign and Diplomatic Policy of the First Earl of Minto in India 1807—1813.
11. 1951 — Origin and Function of the Governor General's Executive Council in the Pre-mutiny period.
12. 1951 — The influence of European foreign policies in India.

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13. 1951 — Jain sources of the History of Ancient India with special reference to chronology.
14. 1951 — The Indian Administration of Lord Elgin II (1894—1899).
15. 1951 — History of Administration of the Province of Agra named subsequently North Western Province (1835—1858).
16. 1952 — Anglo-Maratha Relations (1772—1783).
17. 1952 — Relations of the Great Mughals with the Rajput States from 1526—1707.
18. 1952 — Administration of Lord Hastings (1813—23).
19. 1952 — The Centralization of Authority in India (1835-61)
20. 1953 — Pre-Mutiny Afghan Policy of the British in India.
21. 1953 — Architecture in Madhya Bharat.
22. 1953 — The Administration of Lord Curzon.

Of the 22 subjects listed above only two pertain to the local history i. e. history of Uttar Pradesh, as if it was hard to pursue original researches in the environment in which we live and move, and easy in those subjects with which we have little touch. Indeed that characterises our so called historical research today. We love to write a history of the administration of Hastings, Elgin and Curzon and not of Allahabad, Agra, Kausambi and Kanauj. It is all due to a preference for the path of least resistance and aversion to the streneous intellectual efforts and hard and slow search for new data which characterize scientific enquiry and pursuit of truth. And further since we do not know our local history it detracts from our love of the homeland. We cannot also have a clear comprehension of our cultural heritage since the growth of culture has a very intimate affinity with definite localities. Researches into the history of British rule in India after 1858 are likely to yield good results but the content of our original contribution in this field is extremely limited. In this respect one cannot but congratulate the Ancient History Department of Allahabad University on the admirable work they have been doing at Kausambi. That is how local history can be reconstructed, and that is an uphill task confronting us today. We must not leave it for easier ways and cheap results.

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An idea of how careful and patient work can lead to the reconstuction of our past history and particularly our local history can be formed. From the details of the excavation carried out at Kausambi it has been revealed that from 6th Century B.C. to sixth century A.D. the site was continuously occupied and there are sixteen layers of structural activity indicating as many types of cultural background. I give below an extract from their report.

"The University of Allahabad continued the excavation of the monastary of Ghositarama, the abode of the Buddha at Kausambi. The monstery figures prominently in early Buddhist literature, the Tripitaka and the Buddha is said to have laid down, certain important rules of conduct for the Bhikhsus while he was staying here. It was a favourite resort of the leading disciples of the Tathāgata even after his parinirvāṇa.

Excavations have revealed sixteen sub-periods of occupations and rebuilds. According to the available evidence the monastery was built very early in the NBP (Northern Black Pottery) period and continued in existence till approximately the 6th Century A.D. The penultimate sub-period witnessed the invasion and destruction of Kausambi by the Hūṇa leader Toramāṇa who probably wrested the control of the Antarvedi (Ganga-Yamuna doab) from the Guptas.

The plan of the monastery was dominated by a very large stūpa around which were built chapels for the residence of the Bhikhsus. According to the evidence of this year's excavation the stūpa was built very early in the NBP Period probably in the 5th Cen. B.C. immediately after the Parinirvāṇa of the Tathāgata. Measuring approximately 89 sq. ft. in its final form the stūpa has a doubly recessed corners. The two subsequent important enlargements, the second and the third are to be dated to about the 3rd Cent. B. C. and 2nd Century A. D. respectively and might have been due to Asoka and Bhadra Magha of the Magha dynasty.

Sub-periods VI, VIII, XI and XIII (from the bottom) are noted for reorientations and extending modifications in the plan. Sub-period IX is important for the first introduction of lime plaster. Sub-period XI seems to have been a most important epoch in the history of the monastery. Every structure was repaired and rebuilt.

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On the basis of inscription on a potsherd this period is to be assigned to King Bhadra Magha of the Magha family. The monastery was destroyed in sub-period XV by the Hūṇa King Toramāṇa whose sealing was discovered in a previous season's dig.

The excavation of the monastery has yielded a large number of sculptures of great artistic value constituting a local style in Buddhist art, besides numerous terracotta figurines, seals, sealings, coins, heads etc."

That is about Kauśāmbī. At Mathura excavation work has been started under the able guidance of Mr. K. D. Bajpai, Curator, Archaeological Museum, Mathura, at the instance of the U. P. Government. The two sites chosen are Bhuteswar, close to the Central Railway Station of the same name, and Katra Keshavdeo, which is about two furlongs from the city and said to be the place where Śhrī Krishṇa was born. Many important archaeological finds have been unearthed at Bhuteswar. According to Mr. Bajpai "from about 400 B. C. Mathura became part of tbe Great Magadha Empire and was ruled by the Nanda, Maurya, Śunga, Śaka and Kushāṇa dynasties one after the other. It was during the Maurya and Śunga periods that several colossal images of Yakshas and carved pillars, crossbars, and lintels were made there. The terracottas representing ..... a few carved bricks have also been found."

Side by side with the Allahabad University and the Government of U. P., the Archaeological department of the Government of India have been making efforts to help us reconstruct the local history. Important discoveries of historical material by the Archaeological Department are detailed below.—

"An inscription of Akbar from Bayana, District Bharatpur, is a new record of that monarch's journey through Bayana in A. H. 1010 (A. D. 1601-02) after his conquest of Khandesh. It was engraved by the celebrated noble, literateur and calligraphist of the court, Mir Muhammad Ma'sum Nami."

Shri B. B. Lal discovered a large number of sites with the Painted Grey Ware and Northern Black polished Ware; some of them had either and others both. The following had both

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the Wares; Poiya, on the left bank of the Yamuna, 4 miles upstream from the tomb of Itimadu'ddaula at Agra; Renuka, 10 miles to the west-north-west of Agra, on the right bank of Yamuna, Mahuar, on the way to Fatehpur Sikri from Agra, 12 miles from the latter : Noh, on the Bharatpur-Agra road, 4 miles from the former, already known for its historical Yaksha image; Bhij 3 miles to the east of Deeg, on the Deeg-Mathura road; Aring, 4 miles to the east of Govardhan, on the Govardhan-Mathura road; Sanketban, located midway between Nandgaon and Barsana; Sankisa, ancient Sanksya, in Farrukhabad District; Farrukhabad, with a high mound with ancient material at its north-western end; and Lucknow, where from the exposures on the side of the river and from the deep trenches recently dug for laying a sewer-line in the high mound of Lakshman Tila, right in front of Bara Imambara, were recovered sherds of the Northern Black Polished Ware as well as of fine grey ware, amongst which one piece had the remnants of some design painted in black pigmant.

Sakhitara, close to Govardhan in Mathura District, Chhata, a Tehsil headquarters of the same District, and Bamni Khera, 43 miles from Delhi on Delhi-Agra road had sherds of the Painted Grey Ware, but the Northern Black Polished Ware was absent.

The Northern Black Polished ware was found to occur at the following sites : Erachh, 42 miles north-east of Jhansi, on the right bank of the Betwa; Chhota Belma, 6 miles from Moth, a Tehsil headquarters in Jhansi District, on the Moth-Samthar road; Mati Kishanpur, 28 miles from Kanpur, on the Kanpur-Kalsi road; 5 Bara, 5 miles towards Kanpur from the last site; Bithur, on the right bank of the Ganga, 12 miles upstream from Kanpur, in the area with temples dedicated to Valmiki; Ayodhya, where the ancient mound is largely covered up by modern habitations, but where from rain-gullies near 'Janma-bhumi' was noticed old material: Sravasti, Districts Gonda-Bahraich; and Singraur, identified with Sringaverapura of the Ramayana, on the left bank of the Ganga, 20 miles up Bllahabad. At many of these sites, i. e. Mahur, Erachh, Chhota elma, Bara, and Ayodhya, large-sized bricks with typical finger-marks were seen. Bithur, Ayodhya, Sravasti and Singraur also yiel-

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ded sherds of fine grey ware, no painted sherd, however, having been noticed so far."

Such is the valuable yield of excavations which supply the raw material for local history. While referring to the output of research on on the history of Uttar Pradesh one cannot miss the works of Dr. A L. Shrivastava. His works on Nawabs of Oudh viz. (1) The First two Nawabs of Avadh and (ii) Shuja-ud-Daulah Vols. I and II will long remain unsurpassed as pioneer works in the field of local history. Another aspect of local history has been studied by Dr. Dharma Bhanu in his thesis entitled "History of Adminstration of the Province of Agra named subsequently North Western Province field. (1835-1858)." But as I have said above we have much to do in this

Before I close, I may invite your attention to one of the most important sources of local history which has not been utilized so far. It is well-known that the archives of Uttar Pradesh Government comprise masses of records which are likely to yield valuable raw material for local history. It is a pity that no effort has been made so far to acquaint the research scholars with their content and and character. I fail to understand how a progressive state like the Uttar Pradesh did not think so far of publishing some of these records in the form of Selections on the pattern of Peshwa Daftar Selections, Selections from the Poona Residency Records, or Selections from the Nagpur Residency Records. Governments of Madras, Bombay and Madhya Pradesh have led the way and done much in this direction. I would request the Government of the Uttar Pradesh to undertake a similar scheme of publishing selections from the Uttar Pradesh Records as soon as possible. That will enable the competent scholars to reconstruct the local history under the British rule.

I have tried in this brief address to indicate the importance of local history, with particular reference to this State of Uttar Pradesh, and the deficiencies and difficulties in that field of research. I have tried to suggest what we should do. I now close with an appeal that you may please be more keen on salvaging the history of our villages and towns than you have been so far, because it is on that basis that a true history of India can be written.

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ECONOMIC CONDITION OF THE PEOPLE IN THE NORTH-WESTERN PROVINCES 1830-1860

By

Dr. Dharma Bhanu

The monopoly of Indian trade enjoyed by the East India Company was abolished in 1813; its trade now began gradually to dwindle, while its political activities became more and more prominent. In the place of profits from trade, land revenue and other taxes became henceforward the main objectives of the Court of Directors. The result was that a new class of traders and merchants began to make their appearance and reap the profits of Indian trade and industries. By 1833 the union of trade and government became a paradox and a problem, and as MacCulloch a contemporary, wrote" A Company that maintained armies and retailed tea, that carried a sword in one hand and a ledger in the other, was a contradiction, and had she traded with success would have been a prodigy.[1]" It is interesting, however, to note that though the Company lost its monopoly of trade, it did not allow Englishmen and other Europeans to settle in the rural areas of the country.[2] The reason given was the possibility of a friction between the Indians and the Europeans and of a revolt by the European settlers against the Company. Before 1833 none but the indigo planters and missionaries, under special permits, were allowed to settle in the interior. The Charter Act of 1833 removed this disability and European planters, traders and entrepreneurs were allowed to settle down and set up their business. The North-Western Provinces was also affected by this change in the policy of the Government and a number of Europeans came over to this part of the country and began to take interst in the industrial development and exploitation of raw materials and also of the people of the province.

Plantations

Indigo

Indigo was the most valued commodity of export to Europe and

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was abundantly found in this province. Even in the Mughal days indigo was produced in great quantity in the Agra Province and was "familiar in distant markets and was superior in point of purity to that of Gujarat.[3] Indigo plantation and manufacture were very profitable investments and were, in the eighteenth century, manned purely by Europeans.[4] Trade in indigo was carried on extensively by the East India Company, and many Europeans settled down for the purpose in the Bengal Presidency.[5] The manufacture of and trade in indigo progressed at a very rapid pace, so much so that "by 1850 indigo was one of the most important exports from India".[6] The first indigo planters of the North-Western Provinces settled in the Aligrah district under the French adventurer De-Boigne, with their factories at Khair, Mendu, Koil, Jalali and Maloi. Later on, English indigo planters set up their factories at Sasni, Chotwa, Barla and Hathras. As late as 1873, when this trade was declining, there were 171 factories producing 3,625 maunds of indigo per year.[7] In the Meerut district, factories were located in the Bagpat, Ghaziabad and Hapur tahsils.[8] In the Badaun district indigo plantation and manufactuer were the only industries up to 1880. Factories were located at Kakarala and Bilsi, and Maxwell. and Debnam were the leading manufacturers in the district.[9] Bareilly also had some factories. Churcher and Gilmore were the leading planters and manufacturers of Farrukhabad, the two having between them thirteen factories with their headquarters at Chilauli and Ghauspur.[10] A factory was set up at Tilhar in the Shahjahanpur district also. The Azamgrah district produced about 1,500 maunds;[11] Banaras also grew a large quantity,[12] while Ghazipur made a considerable contribution in its manufacture.

Indigo was planted in a most ingeneous way. European planters and manufacturers did not cultivate the lands by means of hired labour; they entered into contracts with the cultivators and 'the village people raised the crops in a certain fixed area of land and then sell the whole produce only to the 'planter', and not to anybody else.[13]' They gave advances to the cultivators in the beginning of the sowing season, but once the advance was accepted by the cultivator, either with reluctance or with cheerfulness, he was in the grip of the planter,[14]

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Coercion was the order of the day in all plantations. It was estimated by Mr. Stirling that the amount of indigo manufactured in the province was somewhere near 20,000 maunds per year. It was sold in the Calcutta market at the rate of rupees 200 per maund. Thus the value of indigo produced in the province was about rupees forty lakhs per year.[15]

Tea

The Tea industry in the country was started much later. Dr. John Forbes Royle, Superintendent of the Botanical Garden at Saharanpur for nine years, recommended to the Government of India the introduction of tea plantation in the country in 1827,and again in 1834.[16] An experimental tea garden was started in Assam in 1835. In the North-Western Provinces, tea nurseries were started in the Kumaon Hills in 1836.[17] On January 21, 1841, the Provincial Government asked Dr. H. Falconer, Superintendent of the Botanical Garden at Saharanpur, to inspect these tea plants in Kumaon. According to the report submitted, the tea nurseries were located at two places—at Bharatpur in the hills, 4,500 feet above sea level and at Lachmansur near Almora, 5,200 feet above sea level. Dr. Falconer reported that the lands was "very poor and stony."[18] Besides these two nurseries, tea was planted also at Bhimtal, Nowchortal, Almora and Hamalabagh, and the area covered by these four gardens was nearly fifty-five acres.[19]

Good tea required that the leaves be fresh and good. In order to allow new shoots to spring up and give good fresh leaves the tea plantation was cut to the level of the earth every six years.[20] Once the tea plants were cut, they improved amazingly, and Robertson the Lieutenant-Governor, wrote in 1843 that Kumaon soil promised, to be better suited to tea plantation than that of Assam. That year plantatation promised a good harvest.[21]

Tea manufacture was started in India in 1842. In the beginning it was manufactured according to the method of the Chinese tea manufacturers. A number of Chinese experts were employed in the factories for the purpose, as the preparation of good tea required great dexterity and skill.[22] The Government established seven factories for tea manufacture in the province. The tea manufactured

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in these factories was considered both by English and Indian brokers, "well fitted for the market."[23] Dr. Jameson estimated in 1829 that the tea plantations in the province were capable of producing tea in a "quantity surpassing the whole export tea trade of China," and the amount of tea produced was estimated at 10,80,00,000 lb per year. The plantation stretched from the Punjab in the West to Kalinadi in the East. The number of tea plants in these gardens exceeded sixteen millions in 1859, while one acre[24] yielded as much as 300 lbs of tea.

Industries and manufactures.

The industrial and business population of the province was concentrated in those towns which belonged to any of the following three categories (i) places of pilgrimage, (ii) seat of the Government or (iii) Commercial depots. Allahabad, Banaras and Haridwar belonged to the first category while Agra belonged to the second. Trading or commercial towns like Mirzapur lay on the trade routes intersecting the province. Mirzapur was the emporium for the cotton trade with Central India and the Central Provinces. Its importance was also due to the fact that it was the highest navigable point on the Ganga and hence a centre of trade with Bengal.

Glass—A beginning of the glass industry in the province was made in October 1840 at Fatehgarh by one John C. Pyle. After some experiments, he started the manufacture of glass bottles in two varieties--dark green and light green. In the former sand from the Ganga was used and for the latter earth from the other side of the Yamuna was employed. The pots and crucibles were made of "a very refractory clay procured from the other side of the Yamuna."[25] An important centre of glass bangles (*churi*) manufacture was Rampur in the Saharanpur district. There were many small-scale glass factories in this town which speciaized in the manufacture of bracelets and bangles and other ornaments of glass. The town acquired the name of Rampur Maniharan which sticks to it till today.[26] In the Meerut district glass bangles were made at Bagpat and were popular all over the district. Nagina in the Bijnor district was another place famous for its glass ware which was exported as far as Calcutta. Glass was manufactured here from an amalgam of

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reh and saltpetre. It has a greenish blue colour.[27] The Moradabad district also had some crude glass factories.[28] Jasrana, Karhal and Armara Kirara in the Mainpuri district were reputed for glass bangles. Glass was made from an effloresnece usually found on *usar* plains, which was prepared for the purpose by making furrows through the waste land. The furrows were filled with water and the two mixed well into a paste. Then it was allowed to dry. This was placed in an oven fed by continuous fire and the glutinous *kanch* was the result. Kanch was sold at the rate of 45 or 50 seers per rupee and bangles were made of it. The bangles were sold at one hundred per anna. The manufactures of Jasrana and Karhali were exported as far as Calcutta and had earned a good name for themselves.[29]

Leather:

The three centres of leather industry were Kanpur, Agra and Meerut. At Agra, shoe making was a flourishing small-scale industry. Small manufacturers prepared shoes in their shops, employing a few cobblers only. A large number of cobblers had their own shops and the whole of their family was employed in shoe-making.[30] Besides shoes, Agra was also known for its leather goods of various kinds and types.[31] Hide tanning was the means of livelihood of many *Chamars* of the Meerut district. Shahdara and Pilkhaura were the centres of shoe manufacture which had province-wide market. Here, too, manufacture was done on a small scale.[32] Kanpur was another very important centre of leather work in the province.[33] Workers here did superior work, "the best of Indian make," according to Francesca Wilson.[34] However, there were some cheats also. One could be easily duped by the imitation and fabricated leather work of Kanpur.[35]

Textiles:

The chief and the best organised industry of the province was the textile industry. Muslin was the famous product of India during the Medieval times. Chintzes of the North-Western Provinces were known all over the country. After the failure of the American cotton crop in 1846, the eyes of all people in the province were

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on cotton. Says J. F. Royle."....we often hear of the country talked of only in the light of a cotton farm[36]...."in European circles."

Cotton cloth for daily use was manufactured in most of the villages, as every village had its own weavers. But it was of an inferior quality. Some towns specialized in the manufacture of fine cotton cloth. Satranji and chintzes of Mirzapur had a very wide market and were known all over the country.[37] Chintzes and Dusooti were noted all over the province for their quality.[37] Though cotton was not produced in Azamgarh, textile manufacture flourished there and there lived many cotton cloth weavers who were specialists in their craft.[39] Dusooti of Moradabad was a famous product and had a good market even outside the province. Agra had a cotton pressing firm of Messers Beer Reinhold and Company. Silk cloth and brocade were the specialized manufactures of Agra and Banaras. At Agra it was spun into thread at Nai-ki-Mandi and Tajganj and woven into silk cloth.[40] The fine flowered brocade was a speciality of Banaras.

Rugs and Blankets:

Woollen rugs(*kambal*) of Meerut, Bijnor and Muzaffarnagar had a good market. Though a littlle coarse, they were made of pure wool and had long life and were very warm. Miranpur in the Meerut district alone turned out more than a hundred blankets a day. The *Sansla Kambal*[41] of this place was very fine in quality. Made of the wool of lambs shorn about three days after their birth, the *Sansla* Kambals were sold at as high a price as twenty five rupees a piece. Elliot in his 'Glossary' has praised them highly. Lawar was another place in Meerut which manufactured woollen blankets. The embroidered carpets of Sherkot in the Bijnor district had a good sale in the higher circles as an article of luxury.[42] Carpet-making was specialized in Fatehpur Sikri, Bijnor, Mirzapur and Banaras. Fatehpur Sikri[43] had many carpet makers and Mirzapur was famed for its carpets,[44] while Banaras carpets were exported to European countries also besides satisfying the Indian demand.[45]

Banaras was an industrial town of great magnitude and was

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known for its manufactures all over the country. It was by far the greatest centre of handicrafts of various types and kinds and also a a centre where cottage industry was localized.

Metals

The metal industry was even more important. Some towns in the province specialized in the manufacture of metal vessels and utensils. Banaras was famous all over the country for its brass, copper and bell-metal wares.[46] Figures of various gods and goddesses in brass and other metals were manufactured in large numbers and had a roaring sale. Vessels for carrying the Ganga water were produced in large numbers. In Mathura were prepared metal images of Sri Krishna and other gods in various poses.[47] Brass vessels of daily use were made in large numbers at Dhanaura in the Moradabad district,[48] while brass, copper, and iron-wares were made at Mirzapur.[49] Iron-pots and pans were manufactured in Baraut in the Meerut district, and at Bareilly and Agra. Mathematical instruments were made at the Roorkee Engineering College in the Saharanpur district. Side by side with the above industries there flourished some luxury manufactures, and crafts allied to them, like enamelling, damascening and *bidri* work which reached a high standard at Banaras. The damascened work was extensively used in ornamenting the armaments, shields, etc.[50]

Handicrafts

Tarkashi or inlaying wood with brass and silver wires was a flourishing craft at Mainpuri.[51] Bareilly specialised in lacquered black and gilt furniture,[52] and this town still holds the field. Woodwork of Saharanpur also was well-known and had became an art in iteself.

Delhi was celebrated for its manufactures in gold and ivory. The Delhi jewellers were "scarceely rivalled in all India for the neatness, elegance and delicacy with which they worked on these susbtances."[53] Workers and craftsmen at Agra also specialized in Jewellery and stone carving. There were two stone-works in the town which enjoyed almost a monopoly in fine and artistic stone-work. Marble inlay work was done in this town only, while fretwork and *pietra dura* was also its speciality. The records tell us that "though still practised with

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indifferent success by a few Musalmans, the craft is chiefly in the hands of the Hindus."[54] In Mathura also stone-carving was done and "carried to great perfection."[55]

Wealthy Indians and Europeans procured their scents and rose-water from Ghazipur. This town was celebrated for its rose-water, rose-scents, *chameli* oil and other perfumery. The best rose gardens in northern India were to be found in the Ghazipur district. Rose water was made there in great quantities and despatched to all parts of India. Scents were prepared here on a commerical scale on behalf of the East India Compnay.[56]

Wines and spirits:

Wine and rum were distilled in some big distilleries in the province. A distillery was started by John Maxwell in Kanpur in 1805, but later it was removed to Kolaghat on the Ramganga in the Shahjahanpur district. It passed on to Peter Barron who moved it to Gunara, 5 miles north of Kolaghat, but due to fire at Gunara it was shifted to Rosa in 1834. In 1838 the concern passed into the hands of Russell Carew, and his wines earned a good name. They were in great demand, throughout the North-Western Provinces, and were sent outside also. Carew's rum, brandy and whisky went as far as the Punjab and Bengal.[57] The factory exists till this day. Wine was distilled in the Moradabad district also.

Ice:

Ice also was avaiable to the people of the province in the summer season. During the Mughal days it was brought to Delhi and the neighbouring area from Srinagar in Garhwal by relays of runners. This, however, was too expensive, though it was continued at Lahore by Ranjit Singh. A new method of ice manufacture was adopted by the people at Delhi, Fanny Parks in her 'Diary of Wanderings of a Pilgrim' has given a detailed account of how water was run into shallow pans in the cold season in the open and stored and protected against the hot weather when frozen.[58] It was available in the market from May the middle of August.

Sugar:—Sugar in the province was manufactured from sugar cane. Crude sugar (*khand*) was manufactured in good quantity in Bareilly, Shahjahanpur, Moradabad, Azamgarh, Ghazipur, Banaras and other

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towns. It was calculated that one hundred maunds of sugar-cane juice produced 29 maunds of *rab*, 17 maunds of *gur* and 7 maunds of *khand* in Bareilly.[59] The manufacture of khand flourished in Moradabad also.[60] Sugarcane was a very important crop of Banaras,[61] which was manufactured into gur and khand. The soil of Azamgarh was said to be adapted specially for raising sugar cane.[62] The Rosa factory in Shahjahnpur started refining sugar from 1839, and thus replaced if for the khand.[63] It was estimated in 1853 that sugar—cane grown in the Ganga valley alone served a vast population—thirty million people in Bengal, thrity million in the North-Western Provinces and "some forty million beyond."[64] Sugar grown and produced in the province had a good market even outside India and went as far as Central Asia where it met the beet sugar of Russia.[65]

The Pilibhit area produced hemp, and manufactured sacks out of it.[66]

Matchlocks:—Matchlocks were made at Dhampur and Nagina in the Bijnor district and they were used by the East India company's armies also. A few matchlocks of these places were exhibited at the Paris Exhibition in 1867 where they won prizes and were sold out readily.[67]

The only Government Gun-carriage factory in northern India was located at Fategarh in the Farrukhaabad district. It was established in 1818 to supplement the manufacture at the Kashipur factory in Bengal. In 1830 the Bengal factory was abolished and the whole establishment was transferred to Fatehgarh. Fategarh then became "the sole depot for supplying the forces of Bengal with gun carriages and other vehicles for garrison, field and siege purposes.[68]

Paper:—Paper was made at many places among which Mathura enjoyed a good name. It was estimated that in the city alone there were one hundred manufactories of paper which could turn out in a day 150 *gaddis*, each *gaddi* containing 10 *dastas* of paper.[69] It was manufactured in good quantity in Allahabad also.[70]

Minerals:—Among the minerals found in the province mention may be made of the Bhabur iron ores[71] of Kumaon, the Graphite[72] mines in Almorah, Copper found in the hills towards Kalsi[73] and the

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Pokhree Copper mines of Garhwal.[74] Gold was found in small quantity in the Arson river in Dehradun.[75] Gauber Salt[76] was found at Ghazipur.

Trade and Commerce:—Before the British rule the great marts in the province were Mirzapur, the centre of trade with Central India and the Deccan and called 'the Liverpool of the East.[77] due to its busy markets, and Fatehgarh the centre of trade with Awadh and the western parts of the North-Western Provinces.[78] The establihsment of the British rule and the opening up of new routes and means of transport ruined these marts and reduced them to the status of local emporiums. In their place marts like Kanpur, Agra, Hathras and Bareilly sprang up. All this took place during the period of our study. (1803-1858).

The bazars of Delhi were well stocked and supplied with commodities of all kinds. The main bazar was the Chandni Chowk, the fashionable market of the city.[79] Delhi markets carried brisk trade in the products of Europe as well as of India. Some European manufactures could be obtained here at very cheap rates.[80] As for the Indian products, Delhi specialized in shawls and jewellery.[81] Banaras was by far the richest city in the province and carried on an extensive trade. "The class of merchants is very numerous and comprises many of the richest capitalists of India" was a fitting remark of Thornton.[82] The main articles of sale here were "silk and brocades, commonly called *kinkahb*. which are superb, but very expensive."[83] Sugar, saltpetre, indigo, opium, embroidered cloth and jewellery were the other articles of trade at Banaras.[84] A special feature of the Banaras market was that different goods were sold in separate localities which specialized in those articles.[85] The number of merchants in Banaras was very large and most of them were very wealthy capitalists. Some of the richest people of the country lived there.[86] The prosperity of the people was indicated by the palatial houses, six or seven storeys high, on either side of the roads and streets. The shops presented a very good show and impressed many an European traveller.[87] Agra was a mart for cotton of which a large quantity passed through this town to Calcutta. Salt was even more important an article of commerce that passed through Agra. It went from

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Sambhar Lake in Rajputana through Agra to the Doab, as it could not be manufactured in the North-Western Provinces.[88] Agra was a market for sugar, drugs and metals also. The Kanpur markets were full of European, Chinese and Indian commodities of all kinds. The Cantonment at this place and that at Meerut absorbed large quantities of European products.[89] Bareilly had many shops trading in borax and drugs,[90] while Banda was a mart for cotton from Central India.[91]

In the absence of good roads and means of transport, trade in the beginning of the Company's rule in this province was usually restricted to local areas.[92] The result of excessive cost of transport was that heavy goods could not move from place to place. Trade and Commerce developed in proportion to the improvement in the means of transport.

Population and Towns:—The population of the North-Western Provinces[93] was estimated in 1853 at 2,31,99,668 souls of which 1,94, 52, 646 were Hindus and 37,47,022 were non-Hindus including Muslims. Of the whole population of the province 1,47,24,233 were agriculturists and 84,75,435 earned their livelihood through non-agricultural activities. The most populous city in the province was Banaras which in 1836, had a population of 6,50,000.[94] According to Princep "Religion is the staple article of commerce through which the holy city (Banaras) flourished and is enriched."[95] There were in 1829 about 333 mosques and 1,000 temples in this city. The second most populous city was Delhi, the population of which was not precisely known "but is computed at upwards of 2,00,000."[96] Its roads were wide and very clean.[97] Mathura also was a large city. An interesting fact noted about it by Landon was: "It abounds with Brahmans, bulls, peacocks and monkeys....."[98] Agra was a large city with a population of about 60,000, but was not as propserous or growing as Banaras and Delhi. The Cantonment of Agra was large and open, well planned and orderly[99] Meerut was a large, clean, well-arranged and healthy city with a spacious Cantonment.[100] Ghazipur was considered to be "one of the most salubrious cities"[101] of the North-Western Provinces.

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Banking:—Six banks carried on banking operations in the North-Western Provinces. They were[102]

Bank	*Headquarters*
Agra and United Service Bank	Agra.
North Western Bank	Meerut.
Delhi Bank	Delhi.
Simla Bank	Simla.
Kanpur Bank	Kanpur.
Banaras Bank	Banaras.

All of them were established between July 1843 and August 1845. The capital at the commencement of these banks was Rs. 37, 00,000; the paid up capital on July 1, 1846 at Rs. 1.23,93,813; authorized capital on July 1, 1847 at Rs. 1,65,50,000,while the average deposit in these banks was Rs. 55,92,860.[103]

Besides these banks there were a large number of local money-lenders, bankers and shroffs. Mathura had a very famous and rich banker, Lakshmi Chand Seth, whom the *Times* of London designated as 'the Rothschild of India' in reference to the great opium case.[104] He was the richest banker in India and had about Rs. 20,00,000 in the Company's papers at Calcutta. He was a jeweller also. The rate of interest charged from different borrowers depended upon their social status and economic position. Rich people could get money at six percent interest, while the poor had to pay as high an interest as 25 per cent.[105] Money changing was done by shroffs[106] also who were known as sellers of old coins.

Rural life:—The North-Western Provinces was an agricultural area and much of the economio life of the people depended upon their land and its cultivation. The Indian village was almost entirely a self-sufficient unit and had very little contacts with the outside world. Most of the needs of the people of the village were satisfied locally it grew its own food, made its own implements, wove its own cloth for daily requirements, moulded its own domestic utensils and dependeded on the outside world only for a little of salt and spices and some jewellery and fine cloth for festive occasions.[107] The majority of the artisans, servants of the village whowere had either their own plots of land which they held sometimes rentfree and some-

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times at a reduced rent, or received a fixed portion of the produce of the soil from every cultivator of the village. In exchange, they rendered their services to the village people free of charge throughout the year. Besides these artisans, there were a few whose services were not required regularly and hence they were not village servants. Weavers, goldsmiths and betel-sellers belonged to this class and served the people on payment. All occupations were hereditary. Competition had no place in such an economic set up, therefore, there was no incentive to progress or change and improvement.[108]

Conclusion:—The actual necessities of life were cheap and the cost of living was low. Fanny Parks tells us of a dinner party in which eight guests were entertained by 23 servants. At one time she tells us of her having 54 servants, while at another place she informs us that 57 servants cost 290 rupees per month.[109] Coolies and bahngi carriers charged seventeen rupees per head for carrying a *doli* Agra to Bombay, and had to come back without a return cargo.[110] Laurence who was in this part of the country during 1854-1860 gives the rates of some articles of daily use: "A pound of good mutton cost only one anna, a poind of table rice half an anna, two hen's eggs one quarter anna, a seer of pure fresh milk one anna, a pound of butter four annas, a pound of fish one anna, a seer of potatos half anna.[111] The cultivator could purchase both the plough and the oxen for ten rupees.[112] Even during the famine of 1837-38, prices do not seem to have been prohibitive. At Agra, a woman's clothes of ordinary material cost eleven annas plus tailoring, and the complete dress of of a man cost seven annas.[113]

The North-Western Provinces and Awadh were later united and named united Provinces now Uttar Pradesh.

1. MacCulloch: Dictionary of Commerce, p. 535.
2. In 1828 the number of Europeans living in India and not serving the East India Company was a follows:—

Bengal Presidency	—	1,595
Madras Presidency	—	116
Bombay Presidency	—	236
The rest	—	19
Total in India		1,966

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Of these two thousand Europeans the majority was of the Indigo planters, traders and missionaries. See Knowles: Economic Development of the British Overseas Empire, Vol. I. p. 306.

3. Moreland: India from Akbar to Aurangzeb, p. 40.
4. Huggins: Sketches of India, p. 138.
5. G. Watt: Pamphlet on indigo, (1890).
6. Gadgil : Industrial Evolution of India in Recent Times, p. 46.
7. Atkinson: North-Western Provinces Gazetteer, Vol. II, pp. 472-474.
8. Atkinson : North-Western Provinces Gazetteer, Vol. III,pp. 309-310.
9. Atkinson: North-Western Provinces Gazetteer, Vol. V, pp. 82-83.
10. Atkinson: North- Western Provinces Gazetteer, Vol. VII, p. 118.
11. Calcutta and Agra Gazetteer, Vol. II, p.p. 360-365.
12. Thornton: Gazetteer of the Territories under the Eat India Compnay Vol. I. p. 342.
13. Minute of the Lieutenant-Governor of Bengal on the Report of the Indigo Commissioners (1861).
14. The Indigo Commissioners reported: "It matters little whether the ryot took his orginal advances with reluctance or cheerfulness, the result in either case was the same; he is never after a free man. Report of the Indigo Commission, Bengal, p. 25.
15. Atkinson: North-Western Provinces Gazetteer, Vol. II, p. 474.
16. Commons, Fourth Report, 1852-3.
17. Home, Public proceedings, No. 7 of June 29, 1842.
18. Falconer's Report, dated April 21, 1841, vide Home, Public Proceedings No. 5 of June 2, 1841. As a result of proper care, the soil improved and yielded good crops of tea leaves.

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19. Tea Nurseries in the Hills, vide Home, Public Proceedings, No. 23 of May 4, 1844.
20. Home, Public Proceedings, No. 7 of June of 29, 1842.
21. Robertson's Minute of Tannary 3, 1843, vide Home, Public Proceedings No. 5 of March 8, 1843.
22. Jameson to R. N. C. Hamilton on May 23, 1843, vide Home, Public Proceedings, No. 21 of June 21, 1843.
23. Jameson to E. C. Bayley, No. 143 dated February 28, 1859, vide Home, Public Proceedings, No. I4 of May 20, 1859.
24. Ibid.
25. Report of J. C. Pyle on Glass Manufacture, vide Home, Public Proceedings No. 6 of Aril 7, 1841.
26. Atkinson: North-Western Provinces Gazetteer, Volume II, p. 237.
27. Atkinson North-Western Provinces Gazetteer, Vol. p. 335.
28. Atkinson : North-Western Provinces Gazetteer, Vol. IX, p. 126.
29. Atkinson : North-Western Provinces Gazetteer, Vol. IV, pp. 618-619.
30. Atkinson: North-Western Provinces Gazetteer, Vol VII. pp. 553-554.
31. Ibid.
32. Atkinson: North-Western Provinces Gazetteer, Vol. III, p.308.
33. Thoronton: Gazetteer of the Territories under the East India Company, Vol. I, p. 301.
34. Francesa Wilson: Rambles in Northern India, pp. 75-76.
35. Thoronton: Gazetteer of the Territories under the East India Company, Vol I, p. 301.
36. J. F. Royle: Culture and Commerce of Cotton in India p. 20.
37. Calcutta and Agra Gazetteer, Vol. II. pp. 365-368.
38. Frederick Wynne: Sketches of India, p. 39.
39. Thornton: Gazetteer, Vol. I, p. 187, Calcutta and Agra CGazetteer, Vol. II, p. 362.

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40. Atkinson: North-Western Provinces Gazetteer, Vol. VII. p. 555 ff.
41. Atkinson: North-Western Provinces Gazetteer, Vol. III, p. 310.
42. Atkinson: North-Western Provinces Gazetteer, Vol. V, p. 335.
43. Atkinson: North-Western Provinces Gazetteer, Vol. VII, pp. pp. 554-555.
44. Wynne: Sketches of India, p. 30; Calcutta and Agra Gazetteer Vol. II, pp. 365-368.
45. Calcutta and Agra Gazetteer, Vol. II, p. 369.
46. Gadgil: Industrial Evolution of India pp. cit.
47. Atkinson: North-Western Provinces Gazetteer, Vol VIII. p. 215.
48. Atkinson: North-Western Provinces Gazetteer, Vol. IX, p. 126.
49. Calcutta and Agra Gazetteer, Vol. II, pp. 365-368.
50. Gadgil: op. cit.
51. Atkinson: North-Western Provinces Gazetteer, Vol. IV, p. 619.
52. Atkinson: North-Western Provinces Gazetteer, Vol. V,p. 633.
53. French: Journal of a tour in Upper India, p. 33.
54. Atkinson: North-Western Provinces Gazetteer, Vol. VII, p.
55. Atkinson : North-Western Provinces Gazetteer, Vol. VIII, p. 215.
56. F. Wynne: Sketches of India, pp. 19-21; T. B. Laurence : Six years in the North-West, p. 84; An Officer: Sketches of India for Fireside Travellers, p. 195.
57. Atkinson : North-Western Provinces Gazetteer, Vol. IX.
58. Fanny Parks: Diary of Wanderings of a Pilgrim in search of the Picturesque, Vol. I, pp. 78-82. The process described was some- what as follows:—

    Shallow icebeds, six feet square and eighteen inches deep, were prepared in the open, and water pots provided for each of them. The water pots had cloth bottomed pans also. When ever a cold night was expected, the water pots were filled with water and placed in the ice-beds. During the night ice was formed sometimes to the depth of one and a half inch. This was gathered by the shivering blanket-covered coolies early in the morning and stored in

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the ice pits. The pits were covered with a low mud house which was thickly thatched, drained by a well and covered by a layer of straw to keep the air out. In this pit the frozen ice was beaten into a solid mass; the highest temperature at which ice could be made was 43 degrees. The pits were opened by stages in the beginning of the summers and in Delhi the supply lasted upto the middle of August.

59. Atkinson: North-Western Provinces Gazetteer, Vol. V. p. 633.
60. Atkinson: North-Western Provinces Gazetteer, Vol IX, pp. 126-127.
61. Thornton: Gazetteer of the Territories of the East India Company, Vol. I. p. 342; Royle: Productive Resources of India, p. 87.
62. Calcutta and Agra Gazetteer, Vol. II, pp. 360-365.
63. Atkinson: North-Western Provinces Gazetteer, Vol IX.
64. Trevelyan in the house of Commons, Fourth Report, 1852-3, Question No. 1699.
65. Ibid.
66. Atkinson: North-Western Provinces Gazetteer, Vol. V. p. 633.
67. Atkinson: North-Western Provinces Gazetteer, Vol. V. p.335
68. Atkinson: North-Western Provinces Gazetteer, Vol.VII, p.117.
69. Atkinson: North-Western Provinces Gazetteer, Vol. VIII, p. 215.
70. Ibid, Vol. VIII, p. 116.
71. Home, public Proceedings, No. 153 of November 23, 1855.
72. Drummond on August 29, 1849 to Batten, Commissioner of Kumaon, vide Home, Public Proceedings, No. 9-10 of October 6, 1849.
73. Calcutta and Agra Gazetteer, Vol. II, p. 130.
74. Report of Lushington dated November, 17. 1841, vide Home, Public Proceedings, No. 3 of January 5, 1842.
75. Calcutta anp Agra Gazetteer, Vol. II, p. 130.

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76. Calcutta and Agra Gazetteer, Vol. II, pp. 355-360.
77. Raikes: Notes on North-Western Provinces of India, p. 42.
78. Crooke: North-Western Provinces of India, p. 167.
79. French: Journal of a Tour, pp. 32-33.
80. French: Ibid, pp. 35-36.
81. London: Narrative of a Journey through India, p. 83.
82. Thoronton: Gazetteer of the Territories of the East India Company, Vol. I. p. 352.
83. H. E. Fane. Five years in India, Vol. I, p. 47.
84. Thornton: Gazetteer of the Territories of the East India Company, Vol. I. p. 352.
85. An Officer's Sketches of India for Fireside Travellers, p. 198.
86. Thornton: Gazetteer of the Territories of the East India Company Vol. I, p. 352.
87. An Officer's Sketches of India for Fireside Travellers, p. 198.
88. Thornton: Gazetteer of the Territories of East India Company Vol. I, p. 38. Commons, Fourth Report, 1852-3, Vol. XXVIII, Bird's reply to Question No. 5673.
89. Atkinson: North-Western Provinces Gazetteer, Vol. III.
90. Thornton: Gazetteer of the Territories of East India Co., Vol. I, p. 261.
91. Thornton: Ibid, p. 238.
92. J. F. Watson: Plan for an Industrial Survey of India, p. 5.
93. Lords, Report from Committee, 1852-53, Vol. XXXIII, Appendix C, pp. 147-148.
94. Fane: Five years in India, Vol. I, p. 46.
95. Princep: Asiatic Researches, Vol. XVIII, p. 13.
96. Landon: Narrative of a Journey through India, p. 83.
97. Ibid, p. 82.
98. Ibid, p. 79.
99. Ibid. pp. 75-76.
100. Ibid, p. 86.
101. Laurence: Six Years in the North West, p. 89.
102. Thornton to Bushby on September 29, 2847, vide Home, Public Proceedings, No. 5 of June 3, 1848.

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103. Report of Third Quarter 1846, vide Home, Miscellaneous Records, No. 2 of 1847, Volume 502.
104. Landon: Narrative of a Journey Through India, pp. 80-81.
105. Emily Eden: Up the Country, p. 351.
106. Fane: Five years in India, Vol. I, p. 67.
107. Ibbetson: Report on the census of the Punjab (1881), p. 18.
108. An Enquiry into the Economic Condition of the Agricultural and Labouring classes in the North Western Provinces and Oudh (1888) pp. 24-25.
109. Fanny Parks, vide Crooke: Things Indian, p. 415.
110. Minturn: From New York to Delhi, op. cit.
111. Laurence: Six years in the North-West, pp. 97-98.
112. F. Wynne: Sketches of India, p. 93.
113. Report of the Agra Relief Society, p. 13.

BHAKTI MĀRGA IN BRIJ BHŪMI

Dr. B. G. Tiwari

Even in the Pre-Buddhist epoch, certain traditions connect Mathurā with the worship of Nārāyaṇa and Vishṇu and the observance of Bhāgwata Dharma. Another tradition, prevalent amongst the Kānyakubja Brahmans of the Dīkshitāspad, represents Bateshwar, in the Agra District, as their ancient home and Śāṇḍilya as their ancestor. Dr. Barua and[1] Dr. Radhakrishnan regard Śāṇḍilya as one of the Vaidika seers. To Śāṇḍilya is ascribed a remarkable Sūtra on Bhakti. 'Svapneshvara,[2] commenting on the word 'Anurakti', used by Śāṇḍilya, says that 'Anu' means 'After' and 'rakti' attachment, and so 'anurakti' is attachment, which comes after the knowledge of God. Blind attachment is not Bhakti'. This view distinguishes Bhakti from turbid emotionalism, magic, superstition, and the like; it favours a synthesis of Jnāna and Bhakti. Here, then, is faith in the reality of Divine Life, united with a rational conception of God.

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Coming to the Buddha era, we need only refer to the well-known fact that Mathurā was one of the famous centres of Mahāyāna Buddhism. There is over-whelming evidence-archaeological and otherwise—in support of this fact. In its philosophic insight, emotional intensity and practical humanitarianism, Mahāyāna Buddhism has, according to Prof. Toynbee and other scholars, played as important a part, in the history of man-kind, as Christianity has done. The new concept of a Benevolent God rejected both the *materialism* of the Cārvākas and the one-sided acosmism, illusionism, quietism, and world-and-life-denying spiritualism, favoured by Māyāvāda. The new faith seems to have found a favourable soil in Brij Bhūmi, with its ample economic wealth and hardy, realistic people, and it seems to have left a permanent impress on the culture of Vraja. While the older Nārāyaṇīya cult had synthesized Jnāna and Bhakti, Mahāyāna Buddhism offered a richer synthesis of Jnāna, Bhakti and Karma. The ceremonial worship of the images of Buddha implied the principle that spiritual values and forces are mediated through material processes and also the belief that this principle runs through Nature as a whole. For example, abstract Truth, Beauty, and Goodness become more effective to man through such material forms and means as a kiss, a hand-shake, a salutation, a prostration flag-waving, rites, ceremonies Pūjā and the like. Symbols play a very important part in religious life and certain forms of art rouse the noblest and the deepest emotions known to man. This spirit is, sometimes, designated as "*Sacramentalism*," the faith that matter is permeated by the Spirit of the Lord and that Sacramental food, dress and other materials, used in worship, may be, specially, divinized or sanctified.

In our own times Sri Aurobindo, with his ideal of the divinīydion of Matter, represented the height of sacrdmentalism the doctrine which combines knowledge and Faith with works.

On the decline of Buddhism, Buddha, through a fine act or synthesis, was adopted as an incarnation of Vishṇu. The images of Buddha became the images of Vishṇu; and Buddhism, particularly, of the philosophic, contemplative and emotional Mahāyāna type, was, easily, absorbed by Vaishnavism. But, because of the traditional

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association of Brij Bhūmi with Srī Krishṇa's childhood, the conception ef the Lord and his energy or Śakti, in the from of Krishṇa and Rādhā, became more popular, in this region, than other forms of Vaishnavism. This conception distinguishes the followers of Nimbārka, Vallabha and Caitanya from those of Rāmānuja and Mādhava, who conceive the Lord, in the form of Vishṇu or Nārāyaṇa with Lakshmī as His Consort or Śakti, in Vaikuṇṭha or Paradise, In the conception of the Lord and His Śakti as Lakshmī-Nārayāṇa, what is emphasized is the Lord in His aspect of majesty (aiśvarya), so that while one can prostrate oneself before Him and otherwise show one's reverence for His surpassing greatness and glory, one can do it only from a distance, never daring to come in living contact with Him. It is otherwise, however, in the conception of the Lord and His Śakti as Rādhā-Krishṇa, where one has a taste of the Lord's companion-ship in Vrindāvan-līlā, in intimate human social relationship as friend, child or beloved. It is described as the realization of the Lord in his mādhurya-rūpa or sweetness of intimate fellowship, and this is held by the followers of Vallabha, Caitanya, Nimbārka, etc., to be a nobler, sweeter realization than the one, that is afforded by the Lakshmī—Nārāyaṇa concept, with its stress on greatness and glory. The mādhurya-rūpa of the Lord is, then, one, in which the Lord appears as a man among other men without transcending the limitations of man-hood. In this rūpa, the Lord does not appear as a four-headed Being with a halo of transcendent glory and power, but as the Embodiment of sweetness and grace.

Similarly, Bhakti for the Krishṇa-rūpa may be marked off from that for Rāma-Rūpa; for, in the Rāma cult, too, there is a stress on the Lord's glory and power. Again, some devotees of Krishṇa prefer to meditate on His form as a small child. This appears to be the paragon of Mādhurya or Sweetness. So, though both the forms offer scope for devotion or Bhakti; in the aiśvarya form, Bhakti appears only as awe, submission and reverence, while, in the Mādhurya form, Bhakti takes the more intimate form of affection, fellowship and love.

The Medieval period, thus, witnessed the emergence, in the

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Agra-Mathura region, of a vigorous Krishṇa-cult, which may have received some impetus, not only from other allied, indigenous forms of Bhakti, but also from such foreign forms as those professed by Jewish, Christian and Muslim mystics and divines, several of whom are known to have lived, in this region, in the Mughal period. The new movement was opposed to the asceticism, illusionism' quietism and acosmism of Māyā-vāda, the Jnāna-Yoga of Sānkhya and the impersonalism favoured by the adherents of Nirguṇa Brahma. Along with the other schools of Vaishnavism, it stressed the reality of the world and recognised Īsvara or the Lord as the world-creator-preserver-and-destroyer, - the Lord in intimate relations of love and affection with His creatures, as the Preserver of the Cow and the Brāhmaṇa, as the Ultimete, Absolute Reality.

During the hey-day of the Bhakti movement, Brij Bhūmi extended a hearty welcome to teachers from distant parts of the country, Vallabha and his talented children Gokul, Viṭṭhala and their successors, also to Harivamsa, Haridas, and the galaxy of the brilliant stars of Gaur, Chaitanya and his renowned disciples, Jīva, Rūpa, Sanātana and others, all of whom taught the lesson of devotion to a personal Lord. The Goswāmīs began to be adored in various house-holds, like family gods. Feasts, festivals and fasts sprang up to commemorate their love for Śrī Krishṇa. The song of Love went round the whole of Bhāratvarsha. Poet after poet, in every far-flung village and city caught it up.

The new faith found favour with the Muses of Poetry, Music, Dance and Drama. Brij Bhāshā, with its rich, sweet and melodious vocabulary, lent itself to the fine arts and became the peotical language of large part of Northern India. In the Hindi-speaking regions, the poet-saint, Sūrdas, became the hero and the darling of religious poets and laymen alike. Other poets-Krishna Das, Parmanand Das, Kumbhan Das, Chatur Bhuj Das, Nand Das, Govind Das, Hari Das, Chit Swāmī, Bihari Lal and others-have glorified Krishṇa-Bhakti in their verses. This spiritual adventure was shared even by such Muslim poets as Ras Khan, Ras Nidhi, Rahim and others. Haridas, the saint, was not only a poet, but also a famous musician.

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And in Rahim, similarly, we find a blend of Bhakti, poetry and music; once he presented one lakh of rupees to the musician, Ram Das.

The days of the age of Bhakti were, then, memorable days, in the history of Vrij Bhūmi.

(1) S. Radhākrishnan—Indian Philosophy, Vol. I, p. 143.
(2) Ibid, Vol. II, p. 704.

DUNDE KHAN AT BISAULI 1754-1771.

By
N. D. Agrawal.

Bisauli is at present, a small town of District Badaun. Its original name was 'Banswari' or Bansauri because of the luxurious growth of bamboo trees in the area.[1] The place remained obscure until the days of Dunde Khan, a Rohilla chief who made it his headquarters in 1754 on account of its healthy climate and its situation in the centre of his possessions. A small stream, honoured by the Mughal Emperor Mohammed Shah with the name of 'Yar Wafadar' flows on its western side.

1. (a) *Dunde Khan's ancestors* :—Dunde Khan belonged to the Badalzai clan of the Bahraich tribe of Afghanistan. His great-grand father Shahabuddin surnamed Kota Baba and his grand father Mahamud Khan surnamed Moti Baba had been renowned for piety and worship. They were the honoured Afghans of Ruh, a mountaneous region of Afghanistan, surrounded by the hill-ranges of Kashmir on the east, Herat on the west, Kasgar on the north and Baluchistan on the south[2] Moti Baba settled down in a village of Naurud Shahamatpur of Ruh. He had five sons of whom Husan Khan was the fourth and Shah Alam was the youngest. Husan left three sons the eldest being Dunde Khan. Shah Alam had only one named Rahmat Khan, known in history as Haffiz Rahmat Khan.

(b) *Early Career*:—The exact date of Dunde Khan's birth is not recorded. As he died in 1771 at an age of sixty-seven he must have

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been born in about 1704. He was older than Rahmat by three years.[3] We know little of his boyhood. He migrated to Katehr at an early age with an ambition of an youth to acquire wealth by joining Dadu Khan, the ambitions and daring slave of his uncle Shah Alam Khan. Daud had long before arrived here with a few followers and had enriched himself with an immense booty. He enlisted every Afghan of Ruh who came to him in his service as he needed them for his plundering campaigns. He must have been glad to enlist Dunde Khan in his Military Service. During this period Dunde Khan acquired much expereince needed for a soldier By the time of the death of Daud Khan, which occured in 1722, Dunde Khan had been promoted to the post of a Risaladar. He continued to serve under Daud Khan's successor, Ali Mohammad Khan. (1722-1749) During this period he played an eminent part in the subjugation of Kumaun and Sirhind under the chief command of Hafiz Rahmat Khan. Gradually, Dunde Khan rose to prominence in the rank of officers and got a place in the council of advisers of Ali Mohammad Khan. At his death bed, Ali Mohammad Khan, now a Nawab, exalted him to the post of the commander-in-chief of the Rohilla forces. He had at this very time decided to appoint his uncle and trusted friend Hafiz Rahmat Khan as the guardian of his minor sons and the regent of his minor successor Sadulla Khan. Dunde Khan was to take part with him in the guardianship of the children and in the supreme government of the country. These two men Rahmat Khan and Dunde Khan "gave to Ali Mohammad Khan solemn assurance of attachtment to his sons and they swore upon the Koran to observe their promises."[4]

2. *Dunde Khan makes Bisauli his Head quarters* :—Soon after the assumption of the office of regency, Hafiz Rahmat had to face a financial crisis. The Marathas had recently raided and ruined the Rohilla territory. So his government was hard-pressed with the expenditure and failed to pay the soldiers to their satisfaction. Hence Hafiz assigned a portion of the land to Sadulla Khan and divided the entire Rohilla territory among his influential chiefs, keeping for himself the lion's share to meet all the private and military expenses. These portions were to be regarded as their Jagirs and territories. As a

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result of this division of 1751, Dunde Khan received a large portion which comprised a part of District Budaun containing Rajpura, Asadpur, Islamnagar, Bisauli and Satase. The partition was revised next year. Moradabad was assigned to Sadulla Khan and Allahyar Khan, the sons of the Nawab Ali Mohammad Khan for their personal expenses. But this arrangment was not intended to last long. Dunde Khan disregarded the pledges given to the late Nawab and appropriated to himself Moradabad and Sambhal and thus superseding Sadulla Khan who was, however, compensated to some extent by being given the territory of Aonla and an yearly money payment by the third division of 1754. Thus Dunde Khan's possessions remained in tact.

Before the last division of 1754 Dunde Khan along with all other chiefs lived at Aonla. They visited their states occasionally only to realize land revenue and other taxes. Now, in 1754, every chief gave up his residence of Aonla and departed to their estates and settled in seperate towns. The reason is not far to seek. The Rohilla chiefs whose unity and cooperation had brought them honour and power began to be the victims of mutual jealousy, self-aggrandisement and self-interest. The partitions made by Hafiz had created dissensions and dissatifaction among the chiefs and the sons of the late Nawab. The gap, though narrow at this time, was to be widened in near future.

3. *Buildings erected by Dunde Khan at Bisauli*:—Since Dunde Khan chose to make Bisauli his head-quarters, it began to develop into a magnificient town. Dunde, himself achieved great individual importance at Bisauli. He built a mud-fort at a short distance from the town. There has been some dispute about Dunde Khan's fort. About six furlongs from Bisauli, there stands another fort in ruins. A few historians have recorded that this was the fort built by Dunde Khan. Others have maintained that was erected by Firoz Shah Tughlak and Dunde Khan only occupied it. I find some truth in the view of Maulvi Raziuddin Khan of Badaun author of Kanzal Tarikh that the fort belongs probably to the pre-muslim period. Dunde Khan like other Rohilla chiefs built a fresh mudfort near which he erected the Idgah. His own tomb and an adjacent mosque are still

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in existence very close to the place where his fort once stood. The fort, however, has now quite disappeared. Dunde Khan was a great builder. He decorated the town with splendid buildings. He built a magnificient palace known as Shisha Mahal i.e. a palace of glass. Besides, he built four Havelis i.e. big mansions one for himself and the rest for his three sons. A mosque was attatched to each mansion. His two mosques still exist, though not in their past splendeur. He also built a Hammam. It was a palace for the ladies to live in. There was an arrangement of water supply and a facility for the ladies to bathe. He erected a beautiful market and also built stables for military horses and camels. Besides the buildings erected by Dunde Khan, there stood in Bisauli serveral other beautiful houses of his officials-civil and military.

Dunde khan as a patron of learning and industries.

Dunde Khan was a patron of learning and art. A number of private and government schools imparted education to the students. A madrasa was often attached to a mosque. The teachers were respected and the students were rewarded scholarships. Dunde Khan was also a bountiful and generous chief. He gave shelter to the pious and the divines and to some of them granted rent free plots of land for their support and maintenance. These mendicants took their residence near the town to the east in colony which was then known as gadapura 'but which has been after 1857, been corrupted into 'Gadarpura.[5] The Colony still exists and contains a few old houses of the mendicant faquirs as they are still called. It is certain that under the patronizing hand of Dunde Khan several industries also flourished in this town, specially, those of weaving and paper making. An old section of the town is still known as Kagzitola. Most probably, the leaves and the bark of bamboo trees which still grew in abundance were made use of in the making of paper. Bisauli being the headquarters of Dunde Khan grew into a flourshing town and was stretched on all sides, covering an area of several square miles. It was a residing place of the scholars and the pious, of the learned, the religious, artists and craftsmen and businessmen. Trade and agriculture also flourished.

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Dunde Khan's participation in the third battle of panipat.

Let us, now, divert our attention from the arts of peace to the deeds of war of Dunde Khan after 1754. The Khan was a brave soldier and a gallant general. He along with Hafiz Rahmat and Shujauddaulah marched, to join the Abdali forces in the fields of Panipat. He and the other Rohilla chiefs formed the right wing of the Abdalian army. Inayat Khan, son of Hafiz Rahmat Khan, also later on came to join them. But in the battle they could not distinguish themselves. They were turned away at the very start by Ibrahim Gurdi Khan, the chief of Maratha artillery.[6] But before leaving India the victorious Ahmad Shah Abdali conferred titles and jagirs upon the various rulers who had joined him. Dunde Khan was rewarded with a costly robe, a serpech (aigrette) a Kettle-drum and a horse.[7] Besides, Abdali bestowed upon him the jagir of Shikohabad and at the same time conferred upon Inayat Khan that of Itawa. "But these grants were rather permission to conquer than solid rewards".[8] Shikohabad and Itawa could only be taken possession of after subduing a severe resistence. The overthrow of the Marathas in the battle of Panipat (1761) allowed the Rohilla Commander In-cheif peace and a relief for some years. Then again, durng 1764 65 he along with Hafiz Rahmat Khan helped Najiwuddaulah against the jats and Marathas.

Now, the Marathas, after a period of about ten years after the disasterous battle of Panipat regained their strength and crossed the Narwada to conquer Northern India, They soon appeared like a swarm of locusts upon Rohilkhand and demanded the cession of Itawa and Shikohabad, the jagirs of Inayat Khan and Dunde Khan respectively. Dunde Khan at this time suffered from some disease. His army, writes the author of Gulistan, was then indisciplined and unfaithful as Dunde himself admitted before Hafiz Rahmat Khan. It was so, probably, because the soldiers were unpaid and dissatisfied. Finding himself quite unable to retain his jagir partly due to his own illness and the unfaithfulness of his army and partly due to the superior armies of the enemy, he thought it wise to concede to the demands of the Marathas and to hand it over to them. Inyat Khan, too, at the instance of his father unwillingly left Itawa.

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Thus the Jagir of Shikohabad was lost of Dunde Khan in the beginning of 1771.

4. *Death of Dunde Khan*:—Dunde Khan had long been suffering from a disease, probably it was Hysteria of some sort[9] He died on Friday in the month of Muharrum in the 23rd year of the rule of Hafiz Rahmat Khan[10] corresponding to the middle of April, 1771 A. D. He attained an age of sixty seven and was buried at Bisauli. His tomb still exists near Id-gah in decay. With his death the Rohilla power also declined. Hafiz Rahmat, his cousion and the chief of Rohilla confedracy, was shocked to hear of his death. He respected and loved him. Dunde Khan also cooperated with Rahmat Khan throughout his life time. Hafiz Rahmat hastened to Bisauli from Bareilly and stayed there upto Chehelam, the fortieth day of the death of Dunde Khan. He consoled the grieved members of his family and settled their family disputes. Dunde left three sons Mohibullah Khan, Fatehullah Khan and Azimullah Khan, a daughter married to Najiwuddeula and a widow, Bahu Begam. Hafiz divided all the territory of the deceased chief equally in three parts. One part *viz.* Moradabad was alloted to the eldest son, Mohibullah than, the second viz., Sambhal was given to the second son, Fatehullah Khan and the rest was shared by Azimullah, Bahu Begam and her daughter. The distribution was thus unfair to the third party.

5. *Administration*:—Dunde Khan at Bisauli was a pominent member of the Rohilla confedracy whose chief, Hafiz Rahmat Khan, made Bareilly his seat of government. The whole of Rohilla terrtory which comprised a vast area stretched from the frontier of Awadh in the South-east to the hilly regions of Kumaun and Garhwal in the North-West. Hafiz had distributed the whole territory, as already mentioned, among the Rohilla chiefs and sons of the late Nawab, Ali Mohammad Khan. Every member was free to realize the land revenue from his estate and collect other taxes and to meet with it the expenses of his military and civil administration. Thus there was an administrative and financial decentralization. Dunde Khan like everyother chief was not bound by any legal tie to pay to the government at Bareilly any amount of money nor could he hope of any help from it. Every member and so also Dunde

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had to maintain his own budget. Though the unjust and unfair partition of the Rohilla territory had resulted into dissastisfaction, yet for the most part of the period of their rule, it is certain that there existed a tie of mutual love based on race and family relations. In an hour of war and common danger, they helped their chief, Hafiz with men and money. It is clear that Hafiz or Nawab Ali Mohammad Khan could not conquer or hold for a long period a vast territory, as theirs was, without the hearty help and cooperation of all chiefs. Dunde Khan, who was closely related to Hafiz particularly, maintained cordial relations with him throughout his life. He always stood by him in every crisis. Hafiz, too, gifted as he was with superior talents and with capacity to keep factions together, did his utmost and with success to get Dunde's willing co-operation. He always kept a regard for Dunde and took care to seek his advice in all state and family matters.

Dunde Khan like every other chief persued the same policy as was framed and adopted by the chief of their confedracy. Hafiz Rahmat abolished all duties on merchandise in 1769 with a view to improve trade and thereby to better the economic condition of his people. Dunde Khan also enforced it in his domain as well, though with an unwillingness because it meant a huge loss to his treasury. It was a time when money was required to maintain a big army. However the result of the policy was that trade further increased by leaps and bounds and Bisauli became a flourishing town.

Dunde Khan followed the footsteps of Hafiz Rahmat in his religious policy also. The town of Bisauli was inhabited by Hindus as well as Afghans. But the rural areas were populated, as now, overwhelmingly by Hindus. Dunde treated his Hindu subjects with 'kindness and consideration... He was tolerant. He appointed them at some of the high offices such as those of Diwan and Treasurer. But he was not so liberal as to encourage Muslim and Hindu art and literature on an equal footing. No temple or Pathshala took its birth under his patronage. No sage other than a Muslim one was ever granted a piece of land. We do not know much about other aspects of his administration. No native historiain has cared to record it. Dunde Khan at Bisauli had an army numbering about

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1200 including both cavalry and infantry. He had an artillery too. It is certain that his army was well-equipped and disciplined. It won many battles and showed much bravery. But it is sad that at the close of Dunde Khan's days it was disaffected and became unfaithful and unruly.

6. *Character and work of Dunde Khan*:—Sir, John Strachey rightly remarks that "the Rohillas in Rohilkhand lost their most gallant soldier and perhaps the most respected of their chiefs in the death of Dunde Khan (1771)". Next to Hafiz, Dunde commanded the highest respect and exerted largest influence in the whole of Rohilla confederacy. He possessed a vast portion of the Rohilla territory and maintained a large army. He was one of a few 'Pillars' upon which the huge frame-work of Rohilla state supported itself against the constant storms of Maratha invasions. When one of such pillars withered away, the frame-work shook and tumbled down. Dunde Khan was an important member of Rohilla confederacy. His relations with its chief were cordial and sincere. They loved and respected each other. They consulted each other. Hafiz felt that the death of Dunde Khan had dealt a severe below to the Rohilla power and that he had lost a faithful and sincere friend and relation. Dunde was a brave soldier and a gallant general. He fought in many battles and helped a lot in subjugating powerful jagirdars and sarders. He took a postion in the advisory council of Nawab Ali Mohammad Khan. His presence was required before decisions were taken. The rule of Dunde Khan was personal and strong. He possessed a love of architecture. He built several beautiful and magnificient buildings and patronized art and learning. He gave shleter to the divines and encouraged trade and industry. He was tolerant towards other religions. It is said that as a ruler he was impartial in dispensing justice. But he was ambitious and avaricious. He and his cousin Hafiz Rahmat had taken a pledge before Nawab Ali Mohammad to work as gurdians of his children. But he and Rahmat both disregarded their pledge and "apporpriated to themselves the valuable portions of Rohilkhand."[11] Thus he may be blamed of usurpation and ingratitude to his master.

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7. *Bisauli after Dunde Khan's death*:—With the death of Dunde Khan, the glory and beauty of Bisauli fainted away... Hafiz Rahmat who had come to Bisauli to mourn Dunde Khan's death, settled the family disputes by dividing his estate among his sons. He made as told above, three equal parts of the whole estate. Moradabad was assigned to his eldest son, Mohibullah Khan, Sambhal to the second son Fatehullah Khan, and the third part was again divided between the youngest son, Azimullah Khan, Dunde Khan's widow named Bahu Begam and her daughter who was married to Najibaudaullah and had two sons Kallu Khan and Mallu Khan. The sons of Dunde Khan had little character. They did not inherit the personal courage and bravery of their father. They refused to subscribe their share which Rahmat Khan demanded of them to pay off the war-indemnity to Nawab Wazir of Awadh. Other Chiefs also followed their example. Hafiz was, therefor, to some extent, handicapped in discharging the debt[12] and he had to accept the other and only alternative of war. Further, Muhibullah Khan and Fatehullah Khan, the sons of Dunde Khan, neglected to appear in the battle field of Miranpur Katra in time to cooperate with their chief by whom their father had always stood in time of need. They appeared in the field very late and remained neutral. The reason was that they had received "a message from Shujauddaulla with assurances of his protection provided they should not Join Hafiz Rahmat Khan on the present occasion.[13] The news of the defeat at Miranpur Katra struck terror in every Afghan heart. Many fled to the hills of laldang with Faizullah Khan. Dunde Khan's sons chose to stay at Bisauli because they "expected a favourable treatment from the vistors" and moreover, the way to Laldang was too unsafe. Shujauddaullah, however did not keep his word and appeared in his true colours. He with his troops arrived at Bisauli after plundering Pilibhit, Bareilly and Aonla in the afternoon of 7th May, 1774.[14] Shujauddaulah" instituted a search, under his personal supervision for Dunde Khan's treasures and deprived his sons and wives and other ladies of the house, of their cash and jewellery.[15] On the 28th May, 1773 the widow and sons of Dunde Khan, their wives and children and all other ladies of the harem were sent as prisoners

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to Allahabad to be confined in the Fort. The town was plundered. The houses of Dunde Khan were razed to the ground and every Rohilla was either confined or exiled away.

Thus, this town of glory and renown, the seat of Dunde Khan, fell into the spoiling hands of Shujauddaulah and losing its previous prominence and prosperity sank into insignificance.

1. Kanzul Tarikh by Mohammad Raziuddin p. 98.
2. Gulistan : Rahmat p. 4.
3. Gulistan : Rahmat p. 221.
4. Budaun Gazetteer p. 175.
5. The author of Farah Baksh writes that Dunde Khan died of a disease known as p.
6. Gulistan-i-Rahmat p.220. Its author writes that Dunde Khan died in the 25th year of the rule of Hafiz Rahmat Khan, which is erroneous.
7. Hastings and the Rohilla war p. 18.
8. Shujauddaulah volume 2 by Dr. A. L. Srivastava.
9. Hastings and the Rohilla war p. 133.
10. Shujauddaulah Vol. 2 by Dr. A. L. Srivastava.

AGRA DURING THE MAHRATTA REGIME (1785-1803)

By

Shri Krishan Lal Sachdeva.

Historic Agra, the city of Taj and the avenue of the present session of the Indian History Congress, has been many ups and downs in the last four hundred years. It remained under the Marahattas for eighteen years from 785 to 1803. Sir Jadunath Sarkar has aptly remarked, "Agra had been the real capital of Sindhia's North Indian Dominions." An attempt has been made to trace out the story of Agra during this period in this paper.

Capture of the city and Agra fort by Mahadji Sindhia on the 27th March,

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1785. Shuja-dil Khan was the governor of Agra in 1784.[1] Mahadji Sindhia became Vakil-i-Mutlak of Shah Alam[2] on the 14th November 1784. Therefore he sent Rayaji Patel with a royal[3] letter appointing him qiladar of Agra Fort. But Shuja-dil Khan[4] refused to admit him. Fighting ensued. Rayaji easily drove in the outlying picquets, established his own rule in the city and its markets, and opened trenches against the fort. He fire demolished the retaining wall of the fosse in many places. Mahadji himself with the rest of his army and the Emperor, moved up to Rajghat on the Jumna, about four miles north of Agra (2nd March), and the siege was then brought to a speedy conclusion.

One battalion of Sepoys,under Bhawani Singh, was included in the garrison of the fort. Their salary having been long in arrears, this commandant visited Rayaji Patel and made a pact for coming over with his men if their dues were paid and they were enrolled in the imperial army. Other troops in the fort followed their example. Shuja-dil Khan, deserted by his followers, had no help but to make the best terms he could. He was promised jagirs worth Rs. 52000 a year, and vacated the fort on the 27th March. Sindhia's flag was unfurled on the second throne city of the Mughal Emperors.

Administrative Arrangements:—Shah Alam immediately afterwards conferred[5] the (nominal) Subahadarry of the Province on his second son, the Prince Akbar Shah and the Deputyship on Ladoji Deshmukh, Sindhia's son in law.[6] In the meantime Sindhia Rayaje Patel, a relative of his own, to the government of the fort on the part of his son in law.

Ismail Beg besieges Agra:—1787. A faction was formed to oppose and deprive Sindhia of his Northern Indian Dominion. The principle members of this faction were Muhammad Beg and Ghulam Kadir. When Muhammad died, his place was taken by his nephew Ismail Beg. Ghulam Kadir at length succeeded in superseding Sindhia as prime minister; and the later retired in disgust to Gwalior. He was followed as far as Agra by Ghulam and Ismail Beg.

Ismail Beg easily brushed aside the opposition of Rayaji Patel by means of his gun fire and musketry action (11-15Sept.). and arrived close to Agra. On the 16th September, Lakwa Dada Lad, the govern-

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or of the fort, made a sortie with his Deccani horse and two battalions of sepoys led by Lesteneau,and gave battle to Ismail Beg Khan while Rayaji Patel fell on the Khan's near and at first gained some success. But Lesteneau's troops had been exasperated by their salary remaining long un paid and merely evasive replies being given by Mahadji Sindhia to their commandant's entreaty and warning. So during this engagement[7] they turned muskets on their Maratha brethern in arms, and Ismail Beg taking advantage of the confusion, made a vigorous advance. The Hindustani soldiers living in Agra opened the gates of the city to him, and he captured[8] it without resistance. The defeated Rayaji galloped away towards the friendly base of Bharatpur. Lakhwa Dada was cut off from his charge but contrived to re-enter the fort next day; Lestineau joined Ismail Beg and was granted some jagirs in the north of Agra district in lieu of pay. The fighting continued between the Marathas and the opponents during the month of December (1787) but the Marathas were driven back to Pithauli[9] village. The Agra fort,however, successfully defied the Muslims for nine months under its exceptionally able and enterprising qiladar Lakhwa Dada, till his master gained the the upper hand.

Reoccupation by the Marathas June 18,1788. Grant Duff[10] narrates the story of the reoccupation in the following words. "Luckhwa Dada, the Killadar of the fort Agra. persevered in his gallant and successful defence; the Muhammadan chiefs soon evinced a distrust of each other and Rannay Khan, hearing of an incursion of the Sikhs, sent a body of Mahrattas and Jats to join them and encourage them to fall on the Jageer of Ghulam Kadir. This diversion had the desired effect; Ghulam Kadir immediately set off to repel the invaders, and Sindhia having reinforced the division of Rannay, Khan, the Mahrattas and Jats once more advanced towards Agra, at which place an obstinate battle was fought, in which De Boigne and his battalions greatly signalized themselves. The army of Ismail Beg was defeated and dispersed. Thus Agra city was reoccupied by the Mahrattas in June, 1788.

Thomas Twinning's visit to Agra. On the 18th November 1794 Twinning visited Agra. He went to see the governor of Agra. He

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writes,[11] "On the 20th November—After breakfast this morning I went to see the governor of Agra..to pay respects to the governor in return for his civilities to me and also to see the interior of the fort..Finding the gate of the fort closed, I desired the Diwan to announce my arrival and objects of my visit to the governor. In a few minutes the gate was opened for my admission. Leaving my armed people outside, in conformity to etiquette, I entered the fort by a lofty arch fronting the city, and was most politely received by the governor, a Mahratta general, attended by his officers, forming altogether a martial and splendid group. After acknowledging the attention, I had received, we remained a few minutes in conversation, when anticipating my curiosity, he invited me to see the Mooty Musjid and other remarkable objects the fort contained.. The vicissitudes of human power were strongly presented to my mind,as I a Christian traveller was conducted by a Brahman follower of Brahma over the beautiful and still polished floor of this Mussulman temple on which it would have been fatal to either of us to set a foot.[12]"

The Commandant having shown me everything that was remarkable, and last of all a cannon[13] of extraordinary size near the gate, I took leave of this dignified military chief, whose politic manners had contributed much to the gratifications I had received."

Revolt of Ambaji. On the 15th May 1798, Shaza Rao personally illtreated the widows of Mahadji Sindhia, who then raised the banner of revolt against Daulat Rao. Lackhwa Dada took up their cause in the Northern India in January 1799. As soon as Lackhwa Dada's rebellion became known to Daulat Rao, that prince ordered the qiladars of Agra to deliver the fort to Perron, but he being Lackhwa's agent refused to obey. Therefore Perron had to lay siege to almost impregnable fort of Agra. The siege lasted 58 days. Colonel James Skinner, who took part in this siege, writes,"On the 1st of August 1799, Perron came to Muttra to punish Ackajee (There seems a mistake in the name probable it was Abajee), the Mahratta kiladar at Agra; and on the 20th we laid siege to the fort of that city. Ackajee defended it well for two months, and we lost a great number of men;but at length we were obliged to blow up

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a bastion on the river side, near the town, and when this had been levelled, and Ackajee informed that not a man should be spared if he did not give up the fort, he kabooled (acquiesed *aquiesced*) and surrendered it, stipulating for being allowed to retire to Gwalior with his private property, our loss in this siege was about 1000 men killed and wounded."

John Hessing. A Dutchman called Colonel John Hessing was now appointed governor but his brother George also a Colonel in Shindhia's service was associated with him in the government. John Hessing died in 1802.[14]

End of the Mahratta rule. In August 1803, the 2nd Mahratta War broke out. Lord Lake was the commander in chief in Northern India. After having settled the affairs at Delhi, Lake on the 24th September marched down the Jumna bank for Agra. Sending his siege train by river. .on the 4th, the army passed Sikandra and encamped before Agra, whose commander was George Hessing. "The fort of Akbarabad "writes Thorn, "saluted us with several shots, but being at a distance none of them did any injury. On the 7th the fort and city were completely invested; on the 9th Lake concluded a brief alliance with the Jat raja of Bharatpur, who sent 5000 cavalry to co-operate in the siege.

The City was occupied by Brigadier General Clarke on October 10th 1803. The story of the capture of the city is narrated in the following words. "The British General had already summoned the garrison to surrender, but had received no answer. It was afterwards ascertained that this silence was due to the mutiny of the garrison, because it doubted their loyalty, had placed the commandent (George Hessing) and other European officers under arrest in confinement. Preparations were made for a vigorous defence. Seven battalians of the enemy's regular infantry, with a considerable number of guns, took up their position on the glacis, in the Cathedral (Jamma Masjid) mosque in the city, and in the ravines on the south and west faces of the fort. As the British approaches could not be made before these men could be cleared and destroyed, Brigadier General Clarke with three battalions of native infantry and six companies of a fourth was on the 10th ordered to take possession of

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the city and Colonel M'callah M' Cullock with three battalions to occupy the ravines. Their attacks succeeded completely. After a long and severe battle the Marathas abandoned the city. But the British lost in this bloody battle, 228 killed and wounded, including 10 officers and the campoos about six hundred.

The Fort:—In this historic[15] fort were stored vast quantities of munitions, stores, equipment and artillery, besides 22½ lakhs of rupees. After the capture of the city, the breaching battery was erected within 350 yards of the south-eastern side of the fort near the river. On the same day the garrison begged a truce, for the purpose of arranging terms of truce of captiluation. Colonel Sutherland was sent. But the Mahrattas refused to surrender. Colonel Salked, who had been sent by the English to the Mahratta camp to settle terms, came back with great difficulty. On the 17th Lord Lake opened fire. His breaching battery of eighteen pounders and 4 howitzers was assisted by two other batteries of twelve pounders. The well directed fire opened a breach in the south eastern bastion of the fort;and this breach was rapidly made practicable when on the 18th, the garrison capitulated. They marched out five or six thousand, while a detachment of British troops under Colonel Macdonald occupied the fort entering by Amar Singh Gate. Thus[16] the Maratha rule in Agra lasted for eighteen years.[17]

The Great Gun of Agra. Major Thron has given a very interesting account of this gun. He says," Among the ordianance taken in this place, was one enormous brass gun, which for magnitude and beauty, being perfect in all its diversions dimensions, stands unrivalled. The famous piece which is known in the East as by the distinction of the great gun of Agra, "though said to be made of brass, is generally affirmed to have been composed of all precious metals: and that the attention has some solid foundation, appears from the circumstance that shroffs of the city offered the English Commander a lac of rupees, for it merely to melt it.'

It is difficult to think what use could have been made of such an enormous instrument of destruction; even for such purposes of defence warfare;but it is more difficult to conceive in what manner the immense mess of metal necessary for the construction of it was

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thrown into a state of regular fusion.

Some idea of the piece may be formed form the following measurement communicated by a distinguished officer of the artillery, who served it on the spot.

The gun is of one cylinder, without ornaments, having four rings, two at the muzzle, and the same at the beech. Calibre of the gun is 23 inches; metal at the muzzle 11½ inches; diameter of the trimnions 11 inches; length 14 feet 2 inches; length of the bore 8 feet 8 inches; ditto of chamber 4 feet 4 inches; diameter of ditto 110 inches length of the cascabel 1 foot 2 inches; weight of the gun 1027⅓ mand. The ball of this gun, when made of cast iron, weighs fifteen hundred pounds.

General Lord Lake had a great desire to remove this trophy from Agra to Calcutta, with a view of ultimately transporting it to Engalnd, but though a raft was prepared for its conveyance upon the Jumna; the stupendous body of metal proved too heavy for a frame work, and the whole sank in the bed of the river.

General Condition of the City. Twinning remarked[18] in 1794, "The long streets which I passed through between the northern and southern gates, were far from presenting for the population, commerce and wealth of the cities of Bengal, Behar and Benaras. The extreme heart of the city of Agra, from the surrounding plains of sands and the destruction to which it was exposed in the conflicts of the contending parties during the later years of the empire, are sufficient to account for so good a decline from the prosperity it enjoyed in the days of Akbar."

Fattehpor Sikri. "Twinning remarks, "Fattehpore was a populous town in the time of Akbar but now contained only 400 inhabitants."[19]

Major William Thorn has described the condition on the eve of British conquests in 1803 in the following words, "The modern city of Agra rises majestically from the south west side of the Jumna and sweeps along its banks in a vast semicircle presenting on a distant view an idea of grandeur, wealth and population, which is far from being realized on a near inspection. In the days of its propsperity, under the splendid reign of Akbar, the Solon of the east, who founded Agra in 1556, the circumference was not less than thirty miles;

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but present bears no comparison to its former extent and its magnificence. The houses consist of several stories; and the streets are very narrow, though there are several handsome buildings within the precincts of the modern city; and in the neighbourhood are still standing innumerable palaces and seats, belonging to the ancient nobility of the empire.

Economic Condition:—Thus it appears that the economic condition of the geeral masses was not very good during this period though certain nobles had abundance of wealth.

Social Conditions. It appears that a number of European adventurers had made India their home. The low caste people were not very well treated and outcastes sometimes accepted Christianity[20] in disgust.

Religious Conditions:—Policy of toleration was followed by the Mahratta government. Mussalmans were given liberty to worship according to their own creed. Christians were given full independence to propagate their religion. A Roman Catholic Church was functioning in Agra. Padree Juvenal had been appointed by the Pope. But inspite of his best efforts, the number of Christians did not exceed beyond twenty.[21] He had himself become hopeless of his success in Agra. It appears that the inhabitants of Fatehpore Sikri considered the Peacocks sacred and were prepared to kill any body who caused them any injury.

Maratha buildings:—Marathas have left not many remarkable buildings as memorials of their rule in this district. Some of them are as follows:—

1. Rambagh was given its present name during this period though antiquarians[22] assert that the original title was Arambagh, "a garden of rest."

2. Some of the[24] bastions of Agra Fort. were erected by General Perron.

3. *Tomb of John Hessing.* The quarter known as Padri Tola is situated in the rear of the courts of justice. It is one of the ancient Christian cemetries in Asia. Proprietary rights in this were conferred on the Roman Catholic missionary by the Emperor.

Close to the Tomb of Samru is the edifice containing the remains

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of John Hessing, the Dutch General in the Mahratta, vice, who commanded the Agra Fort down to the time of his death, shortly before its siege by Lord Lake. It is a more imposing and splendid edifice than that dedicated to the memory of Sumru, being a counterpart of the matchless Taj Mehal in its designs and general outline, though in a much smaller scale;

Condition of the historic buildings. It appears from Twinning's account that the Maratha government took special care for the preservation of and protection of historic monuments. A respectable Hindu[26] guarded Akbar's tomb at Secundra and an other Chowkidar[27] watched the Taj. A prodigious quantity of orange fruit was ripe when Twinning visited Taj. Likewise Futtehpoor Sikri was well preserved and Itimad-ud-daula was in a good condition. An earthquake in 1803 of course had caused some cracks in the Taj Mahal which were repaired by the Britsh.

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1. Poona Residency Correspondence Vol I. p. 18.
2. G. S. Sardesai- New History of the Marathas Vol. III, p. 145
3. J. N. Sarkar-Fall of the Mughal Empire Vol. III, p. 298.
4. The doubts expressed by H. C. Conybee in the Gazetteer of N. W. P. Vol. VII (p. 621) as to the actual power in possession of Agra at the time of Maratha occupation are clarified by the above and we know it for certain that it was Afrasayab's officer and not the Jats of Dholpur who were its master at that time.
5. James Anderson's letter to John Macpherson G. G. dated 3rd April 1785 P. R. C. Vol. I. p. 21.
6. Ibid p. 261.
7. J. N. Sarkar- Fall of the Mughal Empire, Vol. iii-. p. 407
8. Calendar of Persian Correspondence Vol. VI letter no 1661.
9. ibid. Vol. VIII. Letters no 1915 and 1916.
10. Grand Duff-History of the Mahrattas Vol. III, p. 29
11. Thomas Twinning-Travels in India a hundred years ago p. 201.
16. H. C. Conybee Gazetteer of N. W. P. Vol. VII p. 626.
17. William Thorn.—Memoir of War in India 1803-1806. p. 188
17. Dr. A. L. Srivastava.—Agra through the ages, Agra College

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of History and Political Science Vol. JIII, p. 10.

18. William Thorn-Memoir of War in India 1803-1806 p. 188.
19. Twinning-Travels in India p. 197.
20. Thorn.-Memoirs of War in India p. 192.
21. Twinning, p. 204 Padree Juvnal's statement about the progress of Christianity in Agra.
22. ibid. p. 199.
23. Kaleh Khan..Buildings of Agra p. 134 Arambagh was built by Jahangir for NurJahanm
24. Thorn p. 193
25. Syed Muhammad Latif—History of Agra p.
26. Twining p. 125
27. ibid p. 200,

THE AUHADI AND THE JALWANI DYNASTIES OF BAYANA.

BY

Sh. D. P. Sharmo.

In the fifteenth century there arose a number of minor kingdoms which played an important role in the political drama of the times. One of them was the principality of Bayana which lay in between the three warring kingdoms of Delhi, Jaunpur and Malwa. Cunningham was the first to throw some light on the dynasties which ruled it[1]. Dr. A. Halim followed suit in his article on 'Some Minor Dynasties of the Fifteenth Century' in the Journal of Indian History[2]. However, not only both the accounts throw inadequate light on the problem but also have confused the whole lot by following a faulty geneology. My researches have unearthed some new facts which have necessitated a revised study of the problem.

The first among the dynasties which ruled Bayana in an independent sway was the Auhadi Dynasty. Cunningham had surmised that its founder was one Auhad Khan, who was an ancestor of his

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name sake mentioned in an inscription of 820 A. H. 1417 A. D.[3] Dr. A. Halim also names the founder as Ahad Khan and has found a circumstantial evidence to declare that the Auhadis were converted Jadu Rajputs and belonged to the same stock to which the Khanjadas of Mewat belonged[4]. His contention seems to be correct, for in addition to the fact that Yahya calls the Khanjadas of Mewat as kinsmen of Mohammad Khan Auhadi, other circumstantial evidences are also forthcoming. Khizra Khan, after his defeat at the hands of Sarang Khan, took refuze in Mewat aocording to Yahya,[5] but the Mongol accounts of the Indian invasion of Taimur say that he took shelter with Auhad Khan of Bayana.[6] As both the accounts are contemporary and reliable they can be reconciled only if the original home of Auhad Khan, the founder can be traced in Mewat. Looking for some clue in The Khanjada traditions,[7] I find name of one Ahardu among the nine brothers of Bahadur bin Nahar.[8] On this Ahardu had been bestowed Indor, a principal town of Mewat which later on came into the possession of Jalal Khan or Jallu,[9] a grandson of Bahadur Nahar. It seems this Ahardu (Ahuad Khan) or his descendants had vacated Indor, because they had founded a large principality in Bayana. Thus the near relationship of the Auhadi Dynasty with the Khanjadas of Mewat is well nigh established.

The Minar inscription[10] of Daudkhan Auhadi gives this geneology of the Auhadis. Daudkhan son of Mohammad Khan son of Auhad Khan son of Muin Khan Auhadi (son of Auhad Khan). This Muin Khan can be identified with Malik Muinuddin S/O Hadi[11] or Auhadan who helped Mallu Iqbal[12] in the battle against Timur. Prior to this battle Auhad Khan is said to have given shelter to Khizra Khan, who had been ousted by Sarang Khan, brother of Mallu Iqbal. Thus it seems that the Mugal invasions had forced the two factions[13] of Delhi Amirs to get united and to put up a joint front before the invader. Perhaps Malik Muinuddin did not escape from the general slaughter suffered by his wing in the battle of Delhi (1398 A.D.); it is why we hear no more of him after that event.

Soon after Timur's return we see Shams Khan Auhadi mentioned

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as the chief of Bayana, who sailed aloft the banner of independence.[14] His relationship with Muin Khan Auhadi or with any other member of the family is untraceable. However he was defeated by Mallu Iqbal at the town of Nuh-O-Batla[15] and forced to renew vassalage to Delhi. In 803 A.H./1400 A.D. he accompanied Mallu Iqbal and Mubarak Khan Bahadur Nahar[16] against Rai Sabir, the Chief of Patiala, but was put to death together with Mubarak Khan by Mallu Iqbal who scented treachery on their part.[17]

The geneology of the Auhadi Dynasty after this event presents another problem. Cunningham opines that Karim-ul-Mulk alias Auhad Khan s/o Muin Khan was the successer of Shams Khan Auhadi.[18] Dr. A. Halim, who based his opinion on Ferishta, says that Mubarak-khan alias Karim-ul-Mulk was the successor.[19] According to Yahya, Karim-ul-Mulk, who waited on a Delhi force under Taz-ul-Mulk (819 A. H.) was a brother of Shams-Khan-Auhadi[20] and this Shams Khan Auhadi, himself paid customary tribute to Khizra Khan when he was returning to Delhi from Nagaur (820 A.H.).[21] This Shams Khan of Yahya is clearly Khan-i-Kabir Auhad Khan mentioned in the inscription of 820 A. H., and Karimul Mulk alias Mubarak Khan was his brother. Thus it can be surmised that either Shams Khan Auhadi or Auhad Khan did not die in the year 803 A. H. or the successer of Shams Khan Auhadi I was Shams Khan Auhadi II alias Auhad Khan.

Some time before 827 A.H./1424 A. D. Auhad Khan died and was succeeded by his son Muhammed Khan. It was the time when Delhi Sultanate was not only menaced by internal revolts but also from foreign invasions. The newly founded kingdom of Malwa under its second ruler Alap Khan (Hushang Shah Gauri) was encroaching towards north. Not only Gwalior had been annexed to Malwa but also the force of Chambal had been secured. In such a perilous situation Mohammad Khan s/o Auhad Khan of Bayana assasinated his paternal uncle Mubarak Khan and raised the banner of insurrection.[22] The Syed Monarch, therefore, hastened thither with a large army and compelled Mohammed Khan to put his neck into the collar of obedience.[24] Then the army moved towards Gwalior, which was vacated by the Malwa forces.[25]

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Within a couple of years fighting again flared up. Mubarak Shah attacked Bayana in 1830 A. H/1427 A. D. and Mohammed Khan held out for sixteen days but sued for peace when he saw that resistance was impossible. He and his family was imprisoned in the Jhan-Numa-palace of Delhi and the principality of Bayana was partitioned between Malik Mukh-Bil Khan and Malik Kher Uddin Tuhfa.[26] Mohammed Khan, however, escaped from the prison, sought shelter with his kinsman in Mewat, collected some army and recaptured Bayana with the active assistance of the people. Malik Mubariz was sent to dislodge him and he invested the fort closely.[27] Unable to withstand the onslaught, Mohammed Khan stole away towards Jaunpur to seek help. Help was readily rendered The Sharky army, after a series of marches and counter marches, fell upon Bayana and reinstated Mohammed Khan as their Vassal. The outwitted Delhi Army followed and engagged it on the bank of the river Gambhir near Bayana (Jumadi 7, 831 A. H./Feb. 23 1428 A. D.) and compelled it to retreat under the cover of darkness. Then Bayana was reinvested by the Delhi Army, After a close seige for a week, Mohammed Khan was allowed to withdraw towards Mewat and Bayana was bestowed upon Malik Mahammod Hassain.[28]

Tarikh Mubarak Shahi is silent on the activities of Mohammad Khan after the year 1428 A. D. Badaoni,[29] however, informs that he was once more forgiven and his fief was restored to him, but it is not known when and how it happened. We know that Bayana was in the hands of Malik Mahamood Hassain in 1428 A. D., and he was again sent there to quell the rebeli ous infedels in 1432[30] A. D. Then it was transferred to Shamsul Mulk. in the year 1433[31] A. D. Thus the restoration could have been possible during the period 1428-1432 A. D. or after the assassination of Mubarak Shah in 1433 A. D. The former possibility seems to be more probable when we consider the Mewati tradition[32] regarding the imprisonment and punishment of Maddu the Mewati.[32a]

Dr. Halim seems to believe that Mohammad Khan passed away before the year 1433 A. D. and he was succeeded by his

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first son Yusuf Khan and then by his second son Mahmud Khan who had two sons Auhad Khan and Daud Kban. This geneology [33] is not well documented on facts, for we gather from the Minar inscription of Daud Khan, that he was a son of Mohammad Khan s/o Auhad Khan son of Muin Khan [34]. It is therefore safe to indentify Mahmud Khan connected with the events of 1446 A. D. and Mahmud Khan mentioned in a Sanskrit inscription from Bayana dated 1509 A. V./1452 A. D. with Mohammad Khan, father of Daud Khan Auhadi. It seems he dwelt in Mewat after his expulsian from Bayana and was included among the Mewati Nobles who invited [35] Mahmud Khilzi of Malwa to Delhi (844 A. H./1441 A. D.). The last reoccupation of Bayana perhaps commenced in that year 1440. A. D. or soon after, for in 850 A. H. /1446 A. D. We find one Mahmud Khan sending presents to Mahmud Khilzi of Malwa who was only two farlangs away from Bayana and receiving back a crown bedecked with jewels [36]. Thus the independent status of the principality of Bayana was recognised by a powerful state. Encouraged by this recognition the Bayana chief proclaimed his independence by reading Khutba and issuing coins in his name. Then Mohammad Khan was left unmolested in his possession due to the triangular contest between the kingdoms of Delhi, Jaunpur and Malwa.

Before proceeding to the reign period of Daud Rhan Auhadi, it is necessary to give a brief account of the activities of Yusuf Khan Auhadi or Hindoni whose relationship with the main line is still shrouded in mystery. He is first of all mentioned in the events of the year 1434 A. D. In that year Ranu the slave of Sidhpal [37] advanced to occupy the Shiqqs of Bayana, Amroha[38] and Narnaul offered to his master as a prize for assassinating Mubarak Shah. Yusuf Khan who held Hindaun fought a battle with him and killed him [39]. This event turned the scales in Delhi politics. There is a tradition that a section of the Kachhwahas of Amber did also participate in this battle. A history of Kachhawah has says that Narsingh the son of Udai Karan was a friend of Usuf Khan (Isb Khan Pathan) and that he helped

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him in the battle against Ranu[40]. Allahuddin mentioned in these verses was evidently the Syed Monarch who succeeded Mohammad Shah. Yusuf Khan seems to have wielded much influence in the internal affairs of the Kachhwaha principality, for he is said to have intervened in the quarrel [41] between Narsingh and his brother Barsingh at the request of the former. Another record from Jaipur Archives [42] mentions a war between the Kachhwaha brothers Barsingh and Bala etc. with Nawab Himdullah Khan who can be identified with Hindonikhan (Yusuf Khan). Perhaps both the records point towards the same event.

Yusuf Khan served a noble of Mohammad Shah after the above mentioned victory over Ranu and accompanied him on a compaign towards Multan which was barren of results (1434-35 A. D. [43]). However a few years of weak rule of Mohammad Shah impressed the nobles that the Syed rule should be ousted from Delhi. It is why we see Mahmud Khilzi of Malwa being invited by the Mewati and other nobles of Delhi [44]. Perhaps Yusuf Khan was also included among those nobles, because we see that he was the first [45] to join the Malwa forces on their way towards Delhi. This attempt was unsuccessful. After this event we here nothing about Yusuf Khan Auhadi.

Next we hear of Daud Khan Auhadi who was a son of Mohammad Khan according to the Minar inscription of 861 A. H. [46] He is mentioned as ruling Bayana in an independent way in the year 851 A. H./1447 A. D. when the power of the Delhi Sultanate under Allauddin Alam Shah reached to its lowest ebb[47]. However he had to yield to a Malwi expedition under Mahmud Khilzi in the year 858 A. H./1454 [48]. This Malwi influence was also fugitive and flying, for Delhi [49] and Jaunpur were also active in the field. Cunningham [50] seems to be right in identifying Nasiruddin Mahammad Shah mentioned in the Minar inscription with the Jaunpur ruler of that name (1458-61) and therefore his conclusion that Bayana had to give in to the Jaunpur forces before 1461 A. D. seems to be quite plausible. Delhi under its new and energetic ruler Bahlol Lodi was also not lagging behind, but by then Daud Khan the last of the Auhadi's seems to have expired

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and a new family name Jalwani springs up in the annals of Bayana.

Sultan Ahmed Jalwani the new ruler of Bayana was not a son of Daud Khan Auhadi as held by Dr. A. Halim,[51] but a son of Yusuf Khan Jalwani. Both he and his father are listed among the nobles of Bahlol Lodi [52]. However the circumstances which led Ahmad Jalwani to the Gaddi of Bayana are quite obscure. It may be possible that he was installed by Bahlol Lodi after Daud Khan, but complete absence of any such reference in the contemporary histories militates against this view. There is a probability of a peaceful change if there was any relationship between Ahmad Khan Jalwani and Daud Khan Auhadi. It is not known whether Yusuf Jalwani the father of Ahmad Khan was identical to Yusuf Khan Auhadi (Hindoni) connected with the year 837 A. H. and 840 A. H. But the formation of the word Jalwani (Jallu-Ani) suggests his connection with Jallu the Mewati last mentioned in the year 836 A. H. [53] A romantic folk tale connects a princess of ayana (Bain Badshhah-zadi) with a Mewati youth [54]. If the tradition points out any historical fact it would suggest that a matrimonial allowance was concluded between two members of the two families. Mohammad Khan's sojourn in Mewat provides an ample opportunity for such a relationship to take root. However, the details of the marriage deal are quite obscure, because the oral tradition, I have come accross do not preserve the name of the Mewati youth.

Whatever events placed Ahmad Khan on the throne of Bayana, he soon assumed an air of independence and styled himself as Sultan. But this exposed Bayana to Sharki aggression and he had no option but to submit.[55] Behlol Lodi however recovered Bayana for Delhi and offered it to Mahmood Khilzi of Malwa, if the later helps him against the Sharki Sultan.[56] It was again recovered by Bahlol, because the latter condition was not fulfilled.[57] Thus Bayana was tssed like a shuttle cock being a pawn in the game of Politics.

During the events mentioned above we hear nothing about the Jalwani dynasty of Bayana, but the presence of Sultan Sharf

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or Sharfuddeen Jalwani in the year 892 A. H./1489 A. D. proves that the family was totally not ousted. This Sharf Khan must have ascended the Gaddi of Bayana after Sultan Ahmad. Perhaps he can be identified with Safdar Khan Jalwani, a noble of Sikandar Lodi.

The end of the Jalwani dynasty in Bayana is narrated thus:[58] Sultan Sikandar Lodi proceeded towards Bayana after conquering Jaunpur, Kalpi and accepting the submission from Mansingh Tanwar. He was met by Sultan Ashraf. Sikandar proposed that he should leave Bayana and take Jalesar, Chandwar, Marahra and Sukat in exchange of Bayana. With difficulty Ashraf was prepared to accept this exchange and Omar Khan Sherwani was sent with him to take charge. As soon as the Bayana chief reached the fort, he shut the gates and prepared to defend it. During the war thus ensued Sultan Sikandar won Agra from Haibat Khan Jalwani, a retainer of Sultan Sharf and Bayana from himself. Sultan Sharf fled to Gwaliar.

Bayana was ruled after this event by Khan Khana Farmuli and his son, [59] and then by Khawas Khan, Mujahaid Khan and his sons Nizam Khan and Alam Khan, from whom it was taken over by Babur.

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1. Cunningham A. S. I. Vol. XX. pp. 60-9
2. Journal of Indian History Vol. XXVI Part III
3. A. S. I. Vol. pp. 60-9
4. J. I. H. Vol. XVI Part III page 233.
5. Bhattachariya Tarikh Mubarak Shahi Page. 172-3 p. 96
6. Elliot (Calcutta edition) Autobiography of Taimur and Jafar nama. p. 148
7. Risala Khanan Mewat (M. S. with me) ff2 Muraqqa Alwar, chapter, Muraqqa Mewat page.
8. Shah Mohammad Bahadur Khan, Shabkhan, Ahardukhan, Alauddeen Siraj Khan, Nur Khan, Nizam Khan, Fatah Khan.
9. It is just possible that the Jalwani dynasty of Bayana descended from him. Perhaps he secured Indor after a matrimonial alliance.

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10. A. S. I Vol. XX.
11. The translation of Elliot makes Malik Muinuddin and Malik Hadi two different commanders. Elliot-Autobiography of Taimor p. 56-98; p. 122-24.
12. Mullu Iqbal was a son of Bahadur Khan s/o Nahar according to Murraqqa Mewat p. Risal Khan Mewat 2
13. Bahadur Nahar, Mallu Iqbal and Muqarrab Khan supported Mahmood Shah while Shahab Khan, Shadat Khan and perhaps Auhad Khan also supported Nasrat Shah.
14. T. M. S. pp. 169, Maasir-/ Rahimi of Abul Baqa pp. 396. Bh. T. M. S. p. I74.
15. Bhattachariya T.M.S. page 175. Dr. Halim says that the battle was fought at Noh Jhil.
16. Mubark Khan s/o Bahadur Khan is mentioned in an inscription dating 801 A.H./1298 A.D. from Kotla Bahadur Nahar which also mentions the Mugal invasion.
17. Bhattachariaya T.M.S. pp. 176.
18. Ibed. pp.
19. A.S.I. Vol. XX pp. 60-69.
20. J.I.H. Vol. XXVI Part III pp. 233.
21. Bhattachariya T.M.S. pp. 192.
22. Ibid pp. 193.
23. Mohammed Khan who was a son of Auhad Khan is some times said to be a son of Shams Khan Auhadi.
24. Here I disagree with the view that Karimi-Mulk or Mubarrak Khan ascended the gaddi of Bayana after the death of Shams Khan in the year 1400 A. D. In the above paragraph we have seen that Auhad Khan alias Shams Khan Auhadi was the ruler in 820 A H. Hence Karimi-Mulk Mubarak Khan his brother must have been a councillor with pro-Delhi leanings. After his acession Mohammed Khan, who was an ambitious man, did not like this policy of subordination to Delhi and declared his independence. Mubarak Khan was assassinated because he opposed this policy.
25. Bhattachariya T. M. S. p 209,

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26. Ibid. pp. 212—13.
27. Ibid. pp. 213—14.
28. Ibid. pp. 217, Farishta, Nawal Kishore Ist, 166.
29. Badayuni Mutakhab Utt-tavwrikh, A. S. B. Text I,pp. 293.
30. Bhattachariya T. M. S. pp. 233—235.
31. I. B. D. pp. 238.
32. Md. Makhdum Muraqqa Alwar Chapter IV. It is said that Mohammed Khan was the source from whom Mubarak Shah came to know the hostile activities of Malik Qaddu Mewati. This act must have brought him into the confidence of Mubarak Shah once more and thus the restoration is possible in that year.

32.(a) He was a brother of Jallu and a grand son of Bahadur Nahar.

33. J. I. H. XXVI Vol. III pp. 223—234.
34. A. S. I. Vol. XX
35. Although this conviction is based on mere conjecture but it is quite possible that he and Yusuf Khan Hindoni were the chief nobles who invited the Malwa Sultan.
36. Tab. AK. III, pp. 330.
37. He and his gang was commissioned by Sarvar-UI-Mulk to assassinate Mubarak Shah.
38. This Amroha is perhaps identical to Amer for it is mentioned in between Bayana and Narnaul. Kachwaha participation in the battle also supports this identification.
39. Hindon is a town in between Bayana and Amer. Recently an inscription of this Hindoni line has been discovered by Z. A. Desai the Asstt. Epigraphist of India, but I could not get a copy of it.
40. तिह समय पलटन रंग पहुमिय जंग रान पठान भो ।
आमेर पति नर स्पंध को अतिमित्र इस्ब खान भो ।
करिके सफारस स्याह सूँ अजमेर बोलि बुलाय कै ।
दीनी सु अल्लहदीन सूँ बहु प्रीति हेत बढ़ाय कै ।
नर स्पंध हनि दल रान को मदद सु पठानत को दई ।
हुअ स्याह अल्लहदीन आलम आन अवनिय में भई ।

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41. नर सिह तब निज बंधु को सुवृत्तान्त सर्व बखानियो ।
बुलवाय तब बरस्पंध कूँ निरधार तंतु सुछानियो ।
42. Notes collected by Alwar History Department of extinct Alwar State.
43. Bhattacharya, T. M. S. pp.
44. Tab. AK., page 603, vol. II De, 509.
45. Ibid.
46. A. S. 1 Vol. XX
47. Briggs Vol. I, page 541.
48. J. I. H. Dec. 1948 p. 229.
49. In A. H. 850 A. H. The Delhi Sultan marched to recover Bayana, but retired owing to a report of the advance of the Sharki King on Delhi.
50. A. S. I. Vol. XX pp. 60-69.
51. J. I. H. Dec. 1948 p. 228.
52. Tab. AK. Vol. III, page 337.
53. In this year Mewat was attacked by a Delhi force.
54. I heard it from an old woman from Alwar and from a gentleman from Tijara (Alwar) I heard that she had mystic leanings and had gray hair.
55. There are traditions that even after her death, her spirit roams in the forests near Indore and Alwarpur Tijara.
56. Badauni I, 308, Tab. AK. Tr. page 346.
57. Tab. Ak. III, 348, Maasir-1-Rahim I, 148
58. Tab. Ak., I, 316
59. Badaoni, Muntkhab, I, 318

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PROCEEDINGS OF THE INDIAN HISTORY CONGRESS
AGRA SESSION. 1956.

Dear Sir,

The Annual Meeting of the Execntive Committee of the Indian History Congress Association will be held at Agra on 25th Decemher, 1956 at 3 P. M. at Agra College Building. Your presence is solicited.

Yours truly,
(K. K. Datta)
Secretary

Agenda

1. To coufirm the Minutes of the Meeting of the Executive Committee held at Calcutta.
2. To consider the Secretary's report for the year 1956.
3. To consider the report of the Secretary, History of India Publication Committee.
4. To consider the statement of accounts of the History of Indian Publication Committee.
5. To consider the statement of accounts submitted by the Treasurer for 1955.
6. To consider the budget estimates for 1957.
7. To elect office bearers for 1957.
8. To elect General President and Sectional Presidents for 1957 session.
9. To appoint auditors for 1956.
10. To consider the resolutions proposed by members of the Indian History Congress.
11. To consider the Venue of the next session of the Congress.
12. To elect 4 members of the Publication Committee.
13. Miscellaneous.

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INDIAN HISTORY CONGRESS

CALCUTTA SESSION 1955.

The Annual Meeting of the Executive Committee of the Indian History Congress was held at Calcutta on at 3-30. P. M. on the December, 1955.

Sardar K. M. Panikkar, Presided.

The following members were present :—

Dr. R. C. Majumdar.
Dr. S. N. Sen.
Dr. R. R. Sethi.
Dr. P. C. Gupta.
Dr. M. Rama Rao.
Dr. A. C. Banerjee.
Dr. Moti Chandra.
Dr. A. D. Pusalker.
Maharajkumar Dr. Raghubir Sinha.
Dr. J. N. Banerjee.
Shri S. K. Saraswati.
Dr. S. P. Sen.
Mahamahopadhyaya D. V. Potdar.
Dr, K. K. Datta (Secretary).
Dr. B. P. Sinha (Treasurer).

1. Minutes of the last meeting of the Executive Committee were confirmed.
2. The Secretary's report was read and approved.
3. The report of of the Secretary of the History of India Publication Committee was read and approved.
4. The statement of accounts of the History of India Publication committee was submitted and approved.
5. The statement of accounts for 1954 was considered and approved with some changes.
6. The Budget estimate for 1956 was considered and approved.
7. The following Office Bearers for 1956 were elected:—

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Secretary Dr. K. K. Datta.
Jt. Secretary Dr. R. R. Sethi.
Treasurer Dr. B. P. Sinha.

8. *General President* Dr. N. N. Law.
Vice Presidents Dr. S. N. Sen.
Dr. N. P. Chakravarty.

Sectional Presidents:—
Section I (Ancient India) Dr. Ramchandran, Jt. Director-General of Archaeology.
Section II (Medieval India) Dr. Sukumar Ray.
Section III (Modern India) Dr. R. R. Sethi.

9. M/S S. N. Datta & Co., Chatered Accountant, Patna be appointed to audit accounts for the year 1955.

10. The President Sardar Panikkar was requested to speak to the Education Minister, Government of India, for grant, and also to select members of a deputation to meet the President, The Prime Minister and other distinguished personalities for becoming Patrons of the Association.

11. *The following resolutions were accepted*:—

(a) Resolution of Dr. B. P. Sinha was accepted. It runs as follows:—"Resolved that the Indian History Congress views with grave concern, that in some states History is being made an optional subject in the Matriculation or its equivalent examinations. This Congress appeals to the Government of India and the State Governments concerned to take necessary steps to give History its proper place in the Secondary Education curricullum."

(b) Resolution of Dr. S. P. Sen:—
"Resolved that the Indian History Congress Association requests the Government of West Bengal to set up a Central Record Office in Calcutta for the furtherance of research in Modern Indian History."

(c) Resolution of Shri Bimala Prasad Mukherjee:—
"The Indian History Congress Association expresses its disappointment at the dilatory progress of the publication programmes of the Historical Section, Ministry

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of Defence, and the National Archives of India, Ministry of Education. The Government of India is requested to take necessary steps for expediting publication."

12. Dr. R. C. Majumdar, Dr. S. N. Sen, Dr. A. C, Banerjee, and Dr. Bisheshwar Prasad were elected members of the History of India Publication Committee. Pending the election of new office bearers by the reconstituted committee the old office bearers will continue to function.
13. The Executive Committee recommended to the Business Meeting that the invitation of the Allahabad University to hold the next Annual Meeting of the History Congress at Allahabad be accepted with thanks.

The Annual Business Meeting of the Indian History Congress Association was held at 11 *A. M. on the* 1*st January*, 1956, *in the Lecture hall of the Ashutosh Building Calcutta University.*

Sardar K. M. Panikkar presided.

The following members were present:—

1. Mr. K.M. Ahmed.
2. Shri S. N. Athavale.
3. Dr. A. C. Banerjee.
4. Dr. J. N. Banerjee.
5. Shri Sobhan Bose,
6. Dr. Radha Govind Bosak.
7. Shri Dilip Kumar Biswas.
8. Dr. Moti Chandra.
9. Prof. R. N. Choudhary.
10. Shri. N. C. Chaudhuri.
11. Shri S. B. Chaudhuri.
12. Shri Ajoyendra Krishna Dev.
13. Prof. G. S. Dikshit.
14. Shri K. N. Dutt.
15. Dr. H. L. Gupta.
16. Sm. Renu Ghosh,

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17. Dr. P. C. Gupta.
18. Dr. U. N. Ghoshal
19. Shri Parmeshwari Lal Gupta.
20. Shri B. R. Grover.
21. Shri Dilip Kumar Ghose.
22. Shri K. K. Ganguli.
23. Dr. Mehdi Hussain.
24. Prof. V. G. Hatalkar.
25. Mr. P. M. Joshi.
26. Prof. E. R. Kapadia.
27. Mr. K. S. Khanna.
28. Shri G. H. Khare.
29. Shri Krishna Lal.
30. Shri A. N. Lahiri.
31. Mrs. Bela Lahiri.
32. Shri P. C. Mustafi.
33. Shri Bimal Kanti Majumdar.
34. Shri Tarit Kumar Mukherjee.
35. Dr. R. C. Majumdar.
36. Prof. Bimala Prasad Mukherjee.
37. Shri Prabhas Chandra Majumdar.
38. Shri M. R. Majumdar.,
39. Dr. G. M. Moraes.,
40. Maharajkumar S. C. Nandy.
41. Sm. Ratna Nandy.
42. Shri T. Bala Krishna Nayar.
43. Miss Puspa Niyogi.
44. Dr. Roma Niyogi.
45. Shri M. M. Nagar.
46. Prof. R. V. Oturkar.
47. Prof. A. B. Pandya.
48. Prof. D. V. Potdar.
49. Shri L. R. Pendharkar.
50. Shri S. S. Patwardhan.
51. Dr. A. D. Pusalkar
52. Dr. Bisheswar Prasad.

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53. Dr. M. Rama Rao.
54. Prof. Gurty Venkat Rao.
55. Dr. G. C. Raichaudhury.
56. Dr. Sukumar Ray.
57. Prof. M. L. Ray Chaudhury.
58. Maharajkumar Dr. Raghubir Sinh.
59. Dr. S. N. Sen.
60. Dr. R. R. Sethi.
61. Shri V. S. Suri.
62. Shri Vasudeva Rao V. Subhadar.
63. Swami Shankaranada.
64. Dr. N. K. Sinha
65. Dr. K. K. Datta.
66. Dr. B. P. Sinha and others.

1. Resolutions of condolence on the sad deaths of (1) Dr. J. Allan and (2) Rev. H. Heras were moved from the Chair and passed, all standing.
2. Prof. Gallante, Cultural Attache to the Italian Embassy, read a message.
3. The Minutes of the last meeting were confirmed.
4. The General Secretary placed the Annual Report of the Association for the year 1955.

   Resolved that the Report be accepted.
5. The Treasurer presented the Budget estimate for the year 1956.

   Resolved that the Budget estimates be adopted.
6. The Secretary, History of India Publication Committee, read his Report, which was accepted.
7. The Budget Estimate of the History of India Publication Committee for 1956 was presented.

   Resolved that the Budget estimates be accepted.
8. President reported the election of office-bearers for 1956 and the President and Sectional Presidents for the 19th Session:-

   Office-bearers:—

   President:—Sardar K. M. Panikkar

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Vice-Presidents:—Dr. S. N. Sen.
Dr. N. P. Chakravarty.

Secretary—Dr. K. K. Datta.

Jt. Secretary—Dr. R. R. Sethi.

Treasurer—Dr. B. P. Sinha.

9. General President:—Dr. N. N. Law.

Sectional Presidents:—

Section I Ancient India—Dr. Ramchandran

,, II Medieval India—Dr. Sukumar Ray

,, III Modern India—Dr. R. R. Sethi.

10. The Indian History Gongress Association elected the following members to the Executive Committee:—

1. Dr. R. C. Majumdar.
2. Prof. D. V. Potdar.
3. Dr. N. K. Sinha.
4. Shri S. K. Saraswati.
5. Maharajkumar Dr. Raghubir Sinha.
6. Dr. P. C. Gupta.
7. Dr. G. C. Roy Chaudhary.
8. Shri K. N. Dutta.
9. Dr. A. C. Banerjee.
10. Dr. Moti Chanda.
11. Dr. A. D. Pusalkar.
12. Prof. Gurty Venkat Rao.
13. Mr. K. A. Ahmed.
14. Dr. G. M. Moraes.

11. The President reported that the Executive Committee had recommended for adoption by the Indian History Gongress the invitation of the Allahabad University to hold the 19th Session of the Congress at Allahabad. Resolved that invitation be accepted with thanks.

12. The following resolutions, passed by the Executtve Committee, were placed before the Association and accepted.

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Dr. B. P. Sinha.

(a) "Resolved that the Indian History Congress views with grave concern, that in some states History is being made an optional subject in the Matriculation or its equivalent examination. This Congress appeals to the Government of India and the State Governments concerned to take necessary steps to give History its proper place as a compulsory subject in the Secondary Education curriculum."

Dr. S. P. Sen.

(b) "Resolved that the Indian History Congress Association requests theGovernment of West Bengal to set up a Central Record Office in Calcutta for the furtherance of research in Modern Indian History.',

Shri Bimla Prasad Mukherjee.

(c) "The Indian History Congress Association express its disappointment at the slow progress of the publication programmes of the Historical Section, Ministry of Defence, and of the National Archives of India and requests both to take necessary steps for expediting publication.

13. The election of the following as members of the Publication Committee by the Executive Committee was reported and accepted:—

Dr. R. C. Majumdar.

Dr. S. N. Sen.

Dr. Bisheshwar Prasad.

Dr. A. C. Banerjee (Secretary).

14. The Meeting terminated with a vote of thanks to the Chair and to the Vice-Chancellor, Calcutta University the Reception Committee and the Local Secretary.

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INDIAN HISTORY CONGRESS ASSOCIATION

Annual Report, 1956

I have to note with deep regret and sorrow that Dr. N.P. Chakravarty, a distinguished historian, ex-Director General of Archaeology and an ex-President of the Indian History Congress left this world recently. His death means a great loss for students of History. We have also sustained another loss in the recent death of Professor Indu Bhushan Banerjee of Calcutta, who made valuable contributions to historical studies and was a Sectional President of the Indian History Congress. May the souls of both have eternal peace in Heaven !

Though overburdened with numerous engagements, I have tried my best to serve the Indian History Congress, in my own humble way, with the kind co-operation and assistance of my friends, the members of the Indian History Congress. But I am fully conscious of various limitations for which I crave indulgence of my esteemed colleagues.

The report of the Committee,set up for the control and management of the comprehensive History of India scheme, will be presented to you by its Secretary. I would fervently appeal to all to make earnest efforts for publication of the volumes planned in this scheme.

I am glad to let you know that notwithstanding many handicaps, we have been able to publish the Proceedings of the Sessions 1954 and 1955. To bring out volumes of our Proceedings was indeed an onerous and difficult task, particularly because of lack of funds. Fortunately, we have been able to publish our Proceedings Volumes up to date. The publication of the volume for the year 1954 has been possible due to the generosity of the Government of India and Sir Dorabji Tata Trust, Bombay, for which we are grateful to both. We are also grateful to the Reception Committee of the Calcutta session (1955) for publishing at their own cost, the volume for the year 1955.

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The total number of our members in 298 of which 51 are life members. We have one new life members this year.

The Treasurer will give you an idea of the financial position of the Association. Our total income from menbership fees is not sufficient to meet the expenses of the printing of Proceedings.

Annual memberships fee has been raised to Rs. 15 and life membership fee to Rs. 200/-. But our financial position still remain very unsatisfactory. The Executive Committee may kindly consider some measures to improve it. I would like to submit that in view of the growing work of the Association, it is almost impossible to carry on the Secretary's work with the help of only a part-time typist.

We are profoundly grateful to the Vice-Chancellor, Agra University, for kindly inviting us to hold this session at Agra. I am also indebted to the Local Reception Committee and the Local Secretary, for making the necessary arrangements for the session of the Congress. I take this opportunity of expressing my gratitude to Sardar K. M. Panikkar President of the Indian History Congress, to our Vice President Dr. S. N. Sen and late Dr. N. P. Chakravarty, and members of the Executive Committee for the kindness and help I have received from them.

25*th December*, 1956
Agra

K. K. Dutta
Secretary

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INDIAN HISTORY CONGRESS AGRA SESSION, 1956

TREASURER'S REPORT FOR THE YEAR 1955.

The accounts of 1955 are herewith presented with the auditors Balance Sheet. It shows that in year 1955 Rs.4,445/- came from subscription. There were 293 ordinary members and there was no new Life member admitted to the Congress during the year. This is to be contrasted from the situation in 1954 when we had 323 ordinary members and 14 new Life members. The membership of the Congress is tending to fall, and the Congress should seriously ponder over it. Rise in membership fee may have to do something with this. But the Congress has not lost much financially, as the total subscription fee in 1954 amounted to Rs. 4,630/- only. For the year 1955 sale of Proceedings and collection charges yield Rs. 39/4/- only. The Congress feels greatly obliged to Sir Dorabji Tata Trust for the handsome donation of Rs. 2,000/- only to partially meet the expenses of the publication of the Proceedings. The total income including the last year's closing balance in State Bank of India and cash in hand (Rs. 4,153/15/- and Rs. 699/7/9 respectively) ammounted to Rs. 11,362/10/9 only. The main items of expenditure were the publication of the Proceedings of the Waltair Session (1953) for Rs. 3,494/-, postage and stationery including printing Rs. 995/5/3, salary of the assistant Rs.550/-miscellaneous expenses for Rs.39/14/6,and accountancy charge Rs. 75/- for preparing the accounts of the year 1954. The total expenditure was Rs. 5,271/11/9. The net excess of income over expenditure in 1955 is Rs. 1,222/8/3. The closing balance is now shown as Rs. 6,070/15/- of which Rs. 4,665/14/6/- were in the State Bank of India current account and Rs. 1,405/-/6 were cash in hand. We have also Rs. 2,917/6/- in Fixed Deposit with the State Bank of India, Patna.

The financial position of the Indian History Congress Association is now better than before. By 31st December, 1954, the total closing balance was Rs. 4,853/6/9. But by the end of 1955 the total closing balance is Rs. 6,070/15/. We are no longer in arears in the publica-

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tion of the volumes of the Proceedings of the sessions of the Congress. For this we are immensely greatful to Sir Dorabji Tata Trust, to the Government of India and to the Reception Committee, Calcutta Session of the Indian History Congress. This Reception Committee has generously published the Proceedings of the Calcutta Session of the Congress.

At the end I now draw the kind attention of the members to certain minor difficulties which we have experienced. Often the members send cheques without bank charges. This causes some loss to the Congress. The office has also felt sometimes difficulty in deciphering the correct name or address, as these particulars in spite of clear instructions are not always filled in capital letters in the money order coupons. I hope the members will note these practical difficulties.

B. P. Sinha
Treasurer

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INDIAN HISTORY CONGRESS

AGRA SESSION, 1956

Draft Budget Estimates for 1956-57

INCOME

	1956	Estimates for 1957
Life membership fee ..	200 0 0	200 0 0
Membership fee ..	4,200 0 0	4,200 0 0
Sale of Proceedings ..	60 0 0	60 0 0
Interest of Fixed Deposit ..	35 0 0	40 0 0
Donation for Publication ..	2,000 0 0	
Total ..	6,495 0 0	4,500 0 0

EXPENDITURE

	1956	1957
Establishment ..	700 0 0	700 0 0
Printing of Proceedings ..	4,000 0 0	4,000 0 0
Postage ..	400 0 0	400 0 0
Stationery ..	100 0 0	100 0 0
Printing of Circulars etc. ..	400 0 0	400 0 0
Bank Commission ..	30 0 0	30 0 0
Audit Charges ..	50 0 0	50 0 0
Miscellaneous ..	200 0 0	200 0 0
Travelling Allowance ..	100 0 0	100 0 0
Total ..	5,980 0 0	5,980 0 0

The estimates are circulated to the members subject to the approval of the Executive Committee.

K. K. DATTA
Secretary

B. P. SINHA
Treasurer

NATIONAL ARCHIVES OF INDIA

STATEMENT OF RECEIPTS & PAYMENTS FOR

	RECEIPTS.	Rs.	As.	P.	Rs.	As.	P.
To	Opening Balance :—						
	In hand	699	7	9			
	In C. Account with State Bank	4,153	15	0	4,853	6	9
,,	Subscription.				4,445	0	0
,,	Advance, B.S. Bhatnagar				10	0	0
,,	do				15	0	0
,,	Donation for Publication (from Dorabji Tata Trust, Bomaby)				2,000	0	0
,,	Sale of Proceedings				30	0	0
,,	Collection charges				9	4	0
	Total				11,362	10	9

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CONGRESS

THE YEAR ENDED 31ST. DECEMBER, 1955.

PAYMENTS.	Rs.	As.	P..	Rs.	As.	P.
By Postage and Telegram				119	14	3
,, Miscellaneous expenses				39	14	6
,, Railway Freight				23	10	0
,, Travelling Allowance				77	14	0
,, Printing and Stationery				795	7	0
,, Salary				550	0	0
,, Accountancy charges				75	0	0
,, Publication charges				3,494	0	0
,, Advance Subscription adjustment				20	0	0
,, Bank Charges				16	0	0
,, Closing Balance with State Bank of India				4,665	14	6
Cash in hand				1,405	0	6
Total				11,362	10	9

NATIONAL ARCHIVES OF INDIA

INCOME & EXPENDITURE STATEMENT FOR THE

	EXPENDITURE	Budget Estimate			Actual Expenditure.		
		Rs.	As.	P.	Rs.	As.	P.
To	Postage	350	0	0	199	14	3
,,	Miscellaneous Expenses	100	0	0	39	14	6
,,	Railway Freight				23	10	0
,,	Travelling Expenses				77	14	0
,,	Printing and Stationery	300	0	0	795	7	0
,,	Salary	700	0	0	550	0	0
,,	Accountancy charges for 1954				75	0	0
,,	Publication charges	7,000	0	0	3,494	0	0
,,	Bank charges	20	0	0	16	0	0
,,	Audit expenses	20	0	0	0	0	0
					5,271	11	9
,,	Balance being excess of Income over expenditure transferred to Fund Account.				1,222	8	3
	Total	8,490	0	0	6,494	4	0

NATIONAL ARCHIVES OF INDIA

CONGRESS

YEAR ENDED ON 31ST. DECEMBER 1955.

INCOME	Budget Estimate			Actual Incmoe		
	Rs.	As.	P.	Rs.	As.	P.
By Life Membership	300	0	0	0	0	0
,, Subscription	3,000	0	0	4,455	0	0
,, Donation for publication				2,000	0	0
,, Collection Charges				9	4	0
,, Sale of Proceedings	200	0	0	30	0	0
,, Interest on Fixed Deposit	40	0	0	0	0	0
Total	3,540	0	0	6,494	4	0

NATIONAL ARCHIVES OF INDIA

BALANCE SHEET AS AT 31ST

	Rs. As. P.	Rs. As. P.
FUNDS :		
General as per last accout	3 6 9	
Add excess of Income over expenditure	1,222 8 3	1,225 15 0
Dugar Rajshthan Fund		5,000 0 0
Reserve Fund		2,917 6 0
ADVANCE		55 0 0
Total		9,198 5 0

AUDITORS' REPORT—We have checked the above Statements with the Cash book of the Indian History Congress.

It is to be noted that: (i) the Fund account included a donation of Rs. 5,000/- by Shri Sohanlal Dugar of Johri-Bazar Jaipur for exploring the records in Rajsthan as per proceedings of Jaipur Session of 1951 of the Indian History Congress vide page 382 Appendix G Resolution. So this item is being seperately shown. (ii) The Reserve Fund Rs. 2,917/6/- (principal Rs. 2,880/- and estimated interest Rs. 37-6-0) and its investments were neither shown on the Balance Sheet as at 31st Decemebr 1954 nor recorded in the Books of Indian History Congress produced for checking; but we have

NATIONAL ARCHIVES OF INDIA

CONGRESS

DECEMBER 1955.

	Rs. As. P.	Rs. As. P.
CASH IN HAND as certified		1,405 0 6
STATE BANK OF INDIA Current A/c		4,665 14 6
ADVANCE		210 0 0
FIXED DEPOSIT IN STATE BANK OF INDIA, Patna for Reserve Fund: F.D. Receipt No. E79245	1,060 0 0	
do E79359	1,820 0 0	
Estimated interest	37 6 0	2,917 6 0
TOTAL		9,198 5 0

considered it advisable to record it on this Balance Sheet at 31st. Dec. 1955 because it appears to be one of the assets of the Indian History Congress. The estimated income from interest for the year under review on such fixed deposites have been treated as additions to the Reserve Fund.

We further report that the above Balance Sheet and the annexed Statements of Receipts and Payments and Income and Expenditure have been drawn up in accordance with the books and papers of the Congress and the information and explanations given to us and as shown by the Cash Book of the Congress..

S. N. Dutta & Co.
Chartered Accountants.
Auditors.

Patna the 14th September, 1956.

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INDIAN HISTORY CONGRESS

List of patrons and Life Members, Agra Session, 1956

Patron.

1. Shri Harekrishna Mahtab, Cuttack.

Life members

1. Dr. M. R. Jayakar,
   Vice-Chancellor,
   Poona University, Poona.
2. Shri Jahangir K. Seervai,
   Warden Road, Bombay.
3. Prof. A. S. Altekar,
   Department of Ancient Indian History,
   Patna University, Patna.
4. Shri Manibhai Dwivedi,
   Research Scholar,
   Navasari, Western Railway.
5. Thakur Batuk Singh,
   Deputy Financial Adviser,
   Military Finance Central Secretariat,
   South Block, New Delhi.
6. Mr. K. M. Ahmed, Curator,
   Museum, Hyderabad (Deccan)
7. Prof. A. B. Pande,
   Department of History,
   Banaras Hindu University, Banaras.
8. Shri I. B. Patel,
   Frenny House, Sitla Devi Road,
   Mahim, Bombay..
9. Dr. H. L. Gupta,
   History Department,
   Saugor University, Saugor, Madhya Pradesh.

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10. Sardar Ganda Singh,
Director of Archives, Patiala.

11. Maharaj Kumar Dr. Raghubir Singh.
Raghubir Niwas, Sitamau (Madhya Bharat).

12. Shri M. S. Aney,
Lakshmi Niwas, 382, Sadashiv Peth,
Poona—2.

13. Dr. Nalinaksha Datta,
39, Ramananda Chatterjee Street, Calcutta.

14. Dr. Bool Chand,
Secretary,
Ministry of Education, Gwalior.

15. Prof. D. V. Potdar,
77, Shanwar Peth, Poona.

16. Dr. S. N. Sen,
6, Ekdalia place, Calcutta—19.

17. Shri S. M. Shukla,
Raval Tiles Factory, Colaba, Bombay—5.

18. Shri Bhabani Charan Roy,
Ravenshaw College Cuttack, Orissa.

19. Syed Nurul Hasan,
Lecturer in History,
Muslim University, Aligarh.

20. Rev. Havier S. Thani Nayagam,
Tamil Literature Society,
52, New Colony, Tuticorin.

21. Shri Sohan Lal Dugar,
Haldion Ka Rasta,
Johari Bazar, Jaipur, Rajasthan.

22. Shri Gopichand Varma,
Lecturer in History
M. S. J. Govt. Degree College,
Bharatpur, Rajasthan.

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23. Shri K. L. Srivastava,
Professor,
Hamidia College, Bhopal

24. Prof. Ram Saran Sarma,
Department of History,
Patna College, Patna—5.

25. Shri L. R. Pendharkar,
S. T. O. School Compound,
Topkhana, Jaipur, Rajasthan.

26. Prof. R. N. Chaudhuri,
Maharaja's College Jaipur, Rajasthan.

27. Prof. Yogendra Misra,
Patna College, Patna—5.

28. Srimati Renu Ghosh,
Professor, Women's College, Cuttack.

29. Shri P. Sree Rama Sarma,
Lecturer in History,
S. K. B. R. College Amalapuram,
E. G. District, South India.

30. Shri Krishna Lal,
Lecturer,
M. G. M. Inter College, Jalesar, Dt. Etawah. U. P.

31. Prof. Jagannath,
360, Rainak Bazar, Jullandhar City, Punjab,

32. Dr. A. L. Srivastava,
Professor,
Agra College, Agra.

33. Maharaj Kumar S. C. Nandy,
302, Upper Circular Road, Calcutta—9.

34. Srimati Ratna Nandy,
302, Upper Circular Road, Calcutta—9.

35. Shri Kuldip Singh,
Archives Dept. Patiala.

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36. Shri P. R. Gokhale,
252/6, Sadashiv Peth, Poona—2.

37. Dr. P. V. Kane,
Angre's Wadi, Bombay—4.

38. Sardar A. A. Patil,
Radhaganj, Dewas Jr. Madhya Bharat.

39. Dr. S. Gopal,
2, King Edward Road, New Delhi.

40. Dr. R. R. Sethi,
28, Queensway, New Delhi.

41. Shri G. K. Kanoria,
79, Vivekananda Road, Calcutta—6.

42. Prof. P. N. Mukherjee,
2, Vishnu Road, Dehra Dun, U. P.

43. Dr. Nihar Ranjan Ray,
Cultural Adviser,
Ministry of Union Culcture,
44, Signal Pagoda Road, Rangoon.

44. Dr. R. B. Pandey, Principal,
College of Indology,
Banaras Hindu University, Banaras.

45. Shri Pravin Chandra Ruparel,
83, Mopla Mahal, Girgaum Road, Bombay—4.

46. Shri Ajoyendra Krishna Deb,
25, Shampukur Street, Calcutta—4.

47. Miss Padma Anant Altekar,
C/O Prof. A. S. Altekar,
Patna University, Patna.

48. Prof. M. J. Pathakji,
College Hostels Bunglow, Junagadh, Saurashtra.

49. Dr. H. K. Barpujari,
Asst. Director of Public Instruction,
Shillong, Ujanbazar, Gauhati, Assam.

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50. Dr. A. C. Banerjee,
5, Jadu Mitra Lane, Calcutta—4.

51. Dr. Dharma Bhanu,
Prof. of History,
Madhava College, Ujjain (M. P.).

INDIAN HISTORY CONGRESS.

List of Ordinary Members, Agra Session.

1. Mr. Joseph W. Ink, Instructor in History,
Fenn College, Cleveland—15, Ohio, U.S.A.
2. Dr. R. N. Dandekar,
Bhandarkar Oriental Research Institute, Poona—4.
3. Prof. K. S. Khanna,
Head of the Department of History,
Jat College, Rohtak.
4. Prof. Shinya Kasugai,
Cheena Bhavana, Visva Bharti University,
Santiniketan, West Bengal.
5. Curator,
Victoria and Albert Museum,
Victoria Garden, Byculla, Bombay—127.
6. Shri V. S. Suri. M. A.
Keeper of Records, Govt. of Punjab,
St. Andrews Church, The Mall, Simla—1.
7. Curator,
Archaeological Museum, Mathura.
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